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Father Pfefferkorn and His Description of Sonora*

From the pen of an eighteenth century German Jesuit has come what is probably the best geographical, historical, and ethnographical description of Sonora, Mexico, written in any language. The author of this remarkable work is Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn, missionary to the land which he has so painstakingly described. He came to Sonora as a young man and spent eleven very active years among the Pima, Opata, and Eudebe Indians before the expulsion of the Society forced his departure from the field of his labors. Subsequent to the expulsion Pfefferkorn and a number of his companions were held captive in Spain under suspicion of treason. Eight years of enforced sojourn in Spain were finally terminated for Pfefferkorn by the friendly help of a German elector who interceded with the Spanish crown on the ex-missionary's behalf.

During his eleven years in Sonora, Pfefferkorn had been able, despite the demands of his missionary labors, to do extensive "field work" in large areas of Pima land. Also he had compared notes with his brother Black Robes, and had plied his Indians and the Spanish and mestizo *vaqueros* with questions about plants, minerals, and animals of Sonora. The many notes collected during these years of missionary work in Sonora were not all left to him, for unfortunately the confiscation of Jesuit papers during the expulsion took its toll. But during his eight years' captivity in Spain and afterward for a number of years in Germany, Pfefferkorn worked with the notes which he had been able to salvage and with a large number of secondary

* Ignaz Pfefferkorn, S. J., *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora samt andern merkwürdigen Nachrichten von den inneren Theilen Neu-Spaniens und Reise aus Amerika bis in Deutschland* (Köln am Rheine, 1794-95). 2 vols. The present article is in substance the translator's introduction to a recently completed translation of this fascinating work.

sources. Finally, struggling against sickness and growing age he produced in 1794-95 two volumes of a proposed three volume work.

The following pages tell something about Pfefferkorn, about his missionary labors, about how he came to write his *Description of the Province of Sonora*, and finally something of the nature of the work itself.

Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn, S. J., was born in Mannheim near Bergheim, in the Archbishopric of Cologne, on July 31, 1725.¹ It is known from an incident which occurred later in his life that Pfefferkorn had a sister, and that he was her "only living brother."² Otherwise there is no information at hand about his family, about his youth, or about the circumstances of his admission to the Society of Jesus on October 21, 1742, when he was seventeen years of age.³

From the date of his admission to the Society until he became a missionary and departed for New Spain Pfefferkorn's life must have been like that of many another Jesuit of his day—a way of life which unquestionably imparted to him and to his brothers of the Society the mental, moral, and physical discipline, the knowledge, and the spiritual strength which they needed to cope successfully with the rigors of an apostolic life in the wilderness. Perhaps Pfefferkorn, like other Jesuits, wrote letters to his superiors requesting that he be sent to the missions, and like them he may have rejoiced one day at the arrival of a reply from the Father General giving him permission to go to the Indies.⁴

However this may be, on a particular day in 1754 Pfefferkorn, now a priest, was in Siegburg meeting a Father Midden-

¹ Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jésus* (Bruxelles, 1900), IX, 768; Bernhard Duhr, S. J., *Deutsche Auslandsehnsucht im achzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1928), 55; Robert Streit, O. F. M., *Bibliotheca missionum* (Aachen, 1927), III, 341; Anton Huonder, S. J., *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderte* (Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1899), 114. Streit and Huonder give Mannheim as Pfefferkorn's birthplace.

² Duhr, 54-55; J. B. Mundwiler, S. J., "Deutsche Jesuiten in spanischen Gefängnissen im 18. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, XXVI, Part 4 (Innsbruck, 1902), 668. See below, footnote 35, for remarks about Mundwiler's monograph.

³ Cf. Sommervogel, Streit, Huonder, *loc. cit.*; Duhr, 55.

⁴ Cf. Duhr. The first half of this work is devoted to the desires of German Jesuits to leave Europe for work in the overseas missions. See also Theodore Edward Treutlein, *Jesuit Travel to America, 1678-1756, as Recorded in the Travel Diaries of German Jesuits* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of California, 1934), Chap. II, 17-26, "The Desire to Become a Missionary."

dorf who had arrived there from Cologne. Together the two priests journeyed to Würzburg where they joined company with two other members of the Society, Fathers Gerstner and Och.⁵ Pfefferkorn, at that time not quite twenty-nine years of age, was the youngest member of the group. Joseph Och was almost thirty; Bernhard Middendorf and Michael Gerstner were both thirty-one.⁶

This quartette of young Jesuits was undoubtedly a joyous band for they were going far to the west, across the "world ocean,"⁷ to New Spain to preach Christianity to the American natives. Och begins his diary with the words: "One of the most pleasant days of my life was that of May 9, 1754, when after many entreaties I finally received permission from our Father General, Ignatius Visconti, to journey to the Indian missions."⁸

The missionary adventure, recorded by Och and Middendorf in fine diaries,⁹ began on July 9, 1754,¹⁰ when the four Jesuits left Würzburg for Augsburg on their way to Italy. Middendorf, custodian of their travel money, paid the vetturino seventy-six ducats for the coach ride to Genoa, where they arrived on August 3. At Genoa they were soon joined by eight more Jesuits, all Germans, who had come from Prague and Vienna. Germans were very unpopular in Genoa in 1754, so the Jesuits let it be known that they were Poles.¹¹

Three months after their arrival in Genoa the travelers

⁵ This information is derived from the diaries of Fathers Och, p. 3, and Middendorf, p. 743. See footnote 9, below.

⁶ Ages for Pfefferkorn, Och, and Middendorf are calculated from dates given in Huonder. The date of Gerstner's birth is to be found in the catalog dated February 26, 1760, in MS VX-4-157 (1541-1767. *Catálogo de los nombres, patrias, edades, entradas y profesiones de los sujetos de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España.*) Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico. Gerstner and Och were natives of Würzburg; Middendorf's birthplace was Vechta, in Oldenburg. Huonder, *op. cit.* Cf. Streit, 178, where Middendorf's place of birth is given as Riesenbeck, Westphalia.

⁷ Expression used by Och in his diary, p. 14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁹ "Herrn P. Joseph Och, Glaubenspredigers der Gesellschaft Jesu in der Provinz Sonora in Neu-Navarra, im Gouvernement Neu-Mexico. Nachrichten, von seinen Reisen nach dem spanischen Nord-Amerika dessen dortigen Aufenthalte, vom Jahr 1757 bis 1767, und Rückkehr nach Europa," in Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, ed., *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Ländern des spanischen Amerika* (Halle, 1809), 1-292, hereinafter cited Och, Nachrichten; "Aus dem Tagebuche des mexikanischen Missionarius Gottfr. Bernh. Middendorff aus der Gesellschaft Jesu, geb. zu Vechte im stiffe Münster. A. 1754-1776 n. Ch." Parts I, II, and III, *Katholischen Magazin für Wissenschaft und Leben* (Münster, 1845), hereinafter cited Middendorf, Tagebuch.

¹⁰ Och, *Nachrichten*, 3, and Duhr, 56-7.

¹¹ Middendorf, *Tagebuch*, Part I, 743.

boarded an English ship which brought them on December 24 to Puerto de Santa María in Spain. There they lived in the great Jesuit mission-hospice¹² until a day before their departure for New Spain a year later, for although they had received their designation for Mexico from the Father General on Easter Day, 1755, various circumstances prevented their departure for the New World until two days before Christmas of the same year. Their number had now been increased to forty-two. Of this group at least two others besides Pfefferkorn, Och, and Middendorf were to leave conspicuous names in Jesuit missionary history.¹³ One among them, the youthful Wenceslaus Linck, a nineteen year old member from the Bohemian Province, became famous as an explorer in Lower California and in the Río Colorado region.¹⁴ The other, Matthias Steffl, aged twenty-one, from the same province, worked among the Tarahumaras and later wrote a lexicon of the Tarahumara language, as well as a description of the habits and customs of these Indians.¹⁵

The voyage to America lasted nearly four months, the date of arrival at Vera Cruz being March 19, 1756. Nine days after disembarking at Vera Cruz the travelers left for Mexico City where most of the party arrived in the middle of April after a leisurely journey.¹⁶ But Fathers Pfefferkorn, Gerstner, and Och were not with this party arriving at Mexico City, for they had been ordered to remain in Puebla de los Angeles. Since the Bishop of Cuba had asked that German Jesuits be sent to his island, these three remained in Puebla for three months awaiting decision as to whether they should return to Vera Cruz and sail for Puerto Príncipe on the Island of Cuba or continue on to Mexico. The latter course was, however, decreed. Word had reached Mexico City from the Governor of Sonora, Don Juan de Mendoza, that the Indians desired the establishment of five new missions, and the three Germans, along with two other missionaries who had gone on ahead, were designated to undertake the task of establishing new missions in Sonora.¹⁷

¹² Treutlein, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV, 47-51, "The Arrival in Spain."

¹³ The names of only a few of the forty-two missionaries included in this party are at hand.

¹⁴ Huonder, 112.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 115. See also below, note 22. His name is also spelled Steffel.

¹⁶ Och, *op. cit.*, p. 5ff.; Theodore E. Treutlein, "Jesuit Travel to New Spain, 1678-1756," *Mid-America*, XIX (April, 1937), 104-123.

¹⁷ Och, *Nachrichten*, 49-51. Father Middendorf was one of the two who had already set out for Sonora, May 11, 1756. Middendorf, *Tagebuch*, Part II, 778.

On July 14, 1756, a company of six men, each riding a mule and each with a pack mule in tow, might have been seen leaving Mexico City. Three of the riders were Jesuits. Each of the missionaries wore a large, broad-brimmed felt slouch hat and under it for further protection a linen cloth, like a veil. They were dressed in black leathern jackets, sleeveless but for "wings" at the shoulders. The three other riders were muleteers who went with the fathers as guides and servants. Baggage included mattresses, utensils for cooking, various foodstuffs and even fire wood, which was carried on the back of a small burro. Though their itinerary included villages where stops were made, they generally slept under a large tent in the open field. "We constituted a complete gypsy caravan," says Och.

They advanced north through Querétero, San Luis de la Paz, and San Luis Potosí, to Zacatecas, where they halted to visit a Jesuit College. From there they rode to Durango,¹⁸ where rains delayed them for eight days until they were able to continue their journey along the eastern slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental to Parral. Och speaks of Parral¹⁹ with especial interest because he noticed that here, as had not been the case so far, Spaniards were permitted to make wine. This was because Parral wine could not compete in sale with Spanish wines at Mexico City, a result of the difficulties of transportation between Parral and the Mexican capital. At this point the twelve animals had to be re-shod, for the roads had been extremely rough.²⁰

Near Parral the Indians displayed their affection for the Jesuits by hiding the Fathers' mules, in an attempt, writes Och, to force the missionaries to remain with them. Jesuit priests had formerly carried on missionary work in this region but recently had been replaced by secular clergy, whom the Indians apparently did not like as well as the Black Robes. But the Jesuits had to continue their journey, and when the well-meaning natives saw the determined priests push off on foot, the mules, saddled and ready for the march, were speedily produced.²¹

The travelers were headed for the western slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental and had reached the southern borders of Tarahumara. Here was the home of the Indians whose fleet-

¹⁸ Och says that they reached Durango before going to Zacatecas, an error.

¹⁹ Literally *vineyard*.

²⁰ Och, *Nachrichten*, 65-74, describes the journey from Mexico City to Sonora.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

footedness gave the country its name and whose feet were so hardened by going barefoot in the rough hills and mountains that they bore "transparent" callouses a "finger thick, like hooves."²²

Father Och mentions a rest at San Borgia, a Jesuit mission, after which several days of rough traveling over the Sierra Madre brought them to Mátape, in southern Sonora where there was a Jesuit college. From Mátape a letter was dispatched to the Father Visitor, sixty hours' journey distant, to inform him of their arrival in Sonora and to inquire as to their future stations. Then they continued to Ures where a Swiss Jesuit, Father Philip Segesser, instigated a rather harrowing joke to celebrate their arrival. Near Segesser's mission they were suddenly surrounded by a yelling, whooping band of Indians, some mounted, some on foot, all brandishing bows and arrows. The mules broke for cover; the fathers were unsaddled. "We saw at once that they were not enemies," writes Och, "but we were frightened nevertheless. . . ." Order was soon restored and the Jesuits went the rest of the way to Ures, escorted by shouting natives.

At Ures they remained for three weeks awaiting the letter of instruction from the Father Visitor, and when it arrived they learned that they were to travel still farther north, to the mission of the Rector, Father Kaspar Stiger, a Swiss, who would give them further orders. A three days' journey through Opo-depe, Cucurpe, and Nacámeri brought them to mission San Ignacio where they were made welcome by the sixty-one year old priest.

At San Ignacio the three travelers who had come so many miles together, separated. Och remained with the "old and feeble" Father Stiger at San Ignacio.²³ Gerstner rode west and north to Sáric.²⁴ Here we leave Fathers Och and Gerstner and follow

²² *Ibid.*, 72. See P. Matthäus Steffel, "Tarahumarisches Wörterbuch, nebst einigen Nachrichten von den Sitten und Gebräuchen der Tarahumaren, in Neu-Biscaya, in der Audiencia Guadalajara im Vice-Königreiche Alt-Mexico, oder Neu-Spanien," in Murr, 293-374. Steffel explains, p. 342, that the name *Talahúmali* (Tarahumara), derived from the words *tald* (foot) and *humá* (to run), means *runner* (Fusslaufer).

²³ Och, Nachrichten, 74, says that he remained at San Ignacio until 1766, and then journeyed to Mexico City where he was confined to his bed with arthritis. Pfefferkorn, II, 333, states that Och went to Santa María de Bazeraca, though he gives no dates.

²⁴ Huonder states that Gerstner spent most of his time at Sáric; Pfefferkorn, *loc. cit.*, states merely that Gerstner took over the mission of Sáric. From what is known about the field of Middendorf's missionary labors it is probable that Gerstner did not go at once to Sáric, for Middendorf was probably at that mission when Gerstner arrived in Sonora. Middendorf

Father Pfefferkorn to his missionary labors in Sonora until a common fate again overtakes the three, along with all other Jesuits, at the time of the decree of their expulsion from Spain and Spain's colonies in 1767.

We learn from Father Pfefferkorn's own words what his work was during his eleven years in Sonora.²⁵

I was to attempt the rebuilding of mission Sonoitac but when I arrived in Sonora it was already too late for this. The Papagos as newcomers were but meagerly grounded in Christianity and had little inclination for its tenets. Their life, unbridled from youth, was much more to their liking than that taught by Gospel, and since they had already been five years without a spiritual guide and without instruction they had again taken up their former animal-like existence.²⁶ They had torn down the church and the priest's dwelling, and had conceived such an aversion for Christianity that on no account did they wish ever again to tolerate a missionary among them. Since the situation was such a difficult one everybody considered it expedient to await another time when it should please Providence to reveal ways and means through which the conversion of these peoples could be undertaken anew, with greater success.

Next I was charged with establishing the new mission at Ati²⁷ in the region of the Pimas who had revolted five years previously but were now peaceful once more. At the same time I was to administer spiritual aid to the Spanish garrison of Altar and to Spanish families living in that region. In the year 1756 I went to the place of my mission where I found still standing the church and the little house which were built by Father Kino for his future missionaries, and which had been left undamaged in the last revolt of the Pimas.

Since the missionary of Sonoitac was murdered during this revolt the king of Spain had ordered that in the future no priest should go to a new mission without the protection of soldiers.²⁸ So, in compliance

dendorf had arrived in Sonora earlier than his three companions and had gone first to Tucson as field chaplain with a troop of Spanish soldiers. Then Indian disturbances forced him to flee south to San Xavier del Bac. From there he was sent to Sáric where he remained for fourteen months until a fever so reduced him that to aid his recovery he was sent south to Batuco, which is more than one hundred hours south of Sáric. In 1766, or thereabouts, Middendorf went still farther south to Movas, where he remained until the expulsion. See Middendorf, *Tagebuch*, Part II, 797-98.

²⁵ Pfefferkorn, 333-340.

²⁶ They had been "five years without a spiritual guide" because of the Pima uprising which began in the Altar valley in November, 1751. For an authoritative account of the Pima trouble see Charles Russell Ewing, *The Pima uprising, 1751-1752: a study in Spain's Indian policy* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of California, 1934).

²⁷ Pima Indian word meaning *brook*.

²⁸ The former missionary of Sonoitac was Father Heinrich Ruhen, a German Jesuit from the Lower Rhine Province, who was murdered in 1751 after having been at Sonoitac for less than a year. Pfefferkorn, 329-332.

with this order, I arrived at Ati with four soldiers and a non-commis-
sioned officer and found, to my astonishment, that the village was com-
pletely deserted, for all the Indians at first sight of us had taken to
their heels. Their reason for doing this was fear of, or what is more
likely, aversion to the Spaniards, whose presence they positively do
not wish to tolerate.

For many days no soul came to me; only in the dark of night some
Indians prowled into my house, to the very door of my room. One after
the other lurked there, just like timid children who wish to see some-
one but who do not wish to be seen. They kept their bodies out of
sight back of the door and stuck just their heads out, as far as their
noses, scrutinizing me from head to foot. However, if I as much as
directed a glance at the door they hurriedly took flight. This farce
continued every evening for four weeks.

Meanwhile, I frequently sent out my interpreter, a trustworthy
Indian who was a pious Christian, to invite the fugitives to me with
promises that I would treat them with paternal kindness and over-
whelm them with gifts. My messenger returned each time without
having accomplished anything. Finally they told him plainly that they
would not come to me until I had sent away the *schondari ootam* (the
soldiers, their enemies). To all appearances this was dangerous, but I
considered that without complying I could not hope to be of service to
these people, and also that in case of violence a mere handful of
soldiers would not be able to defend me anyway. So I dismissed my
escort and remained alone.

As I sat at my mid-day meal thirty or forty robust and very stern-
looking Indians approached and formed a circle about me. I believed
that the last moment of my life was at hand but took heart and
ordered the interpreter to ask them what they wanted. Immediately
an old Indian stepped out of the circle, bowed politely, and said: "See,
Father! Now we come to you because you have driven away our ene-
mies; now we wish to remain with you, to protect you, and to do
everything that you wish." Greatly encouraged I shook hands with
each of them, gave them gifts, and dismissed them well satisfied. On
the very same day the others also returned quite calmly and peace-
fully, and then I became hopeful for the happy progress of my mission.

Among the Pimas, who constituted the largest group in my mis-
sion, lived some Papagos who had previously been baptized and who
had taken no part in the wicked designs of their countrymen. For this
reason they preferred to remain among the Christian Pimas rather
than among their own people. This made me happy and I hoped grad-
ually to increase my flock through the example and co-operation of
these good Indians. I was not disappointed in my hope. For throughout
my residence here considerable numbers of Papagos came to the mis-
sion at frequent intervals seeking food from the Pimas, when they
were short of it in their dry and sandy country. The kindly reception

and benevolent treatment accorded these poor people, the gifts which I gave to them, and the persuasion of their own countrymen who praised their happy life in the mission, had such an effect that each time some of them remained and submitted to Christianity. In this way the number of believers grew slowly. The circumstances did not permit more rapid progress at the time.

I had spent nearly seven years in this mission among the Pimas when a fever of long duration and my daily failing strength made it necessary for me to abandon Ati and to seek recovery of my health in another region where there was purer air and more healthful water. Such conditions obtained on the other side of the mountain where lived the Eudebes, in whose country there was now vacant the mission of Cucurpe.²⁰ This mission I took over upon the order of my superiors and I administered it with great contentment for four years, until 1767, at which time we were separated most painfully from our dear little sheep, by a fate which is well known."

The "fate" to which Father Pfefferkorn refers was, of course, the general expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and from Spain's several overseas dominions. The Jesuits in the Sonora-Sinaloa mission frontier received a circular letter from Father Johann Nentwig, the Father Visitor who was acting provincial for the missions, calling them to Mátape on the pretext that they were needed to pass judgment on an important matter. Thus were assembled with ease and expediency Pfefferkorn and his brother Jesuits.²¹ This group numbered fifty-one in all; thirty-one from the Sonora missions and twenty from those of Sinaloa.²² Crowded into the church at Mátape, with armed guards standing at doors and windows, they heard pronounced the royal decree which banished them forever from the dominions of Spain and from Spain itself.²³

On August 25, under military guard, the Sonora-Sinaloa missionaries, Fathers Pfefferkorn, Middendorf, and Gerstner among them, set out for Guaymas, on the coast. There they remained, miserably housed, until May 20, 1768 when began their long,

²⁰ *Cucurpe* is an Eudebe[?] Indian word meaning "wood-dove," and is of undoubtedly onomatopoeic origin.

²¹ Middendorf, *Tagebuch*, Part III, 25. For an excellent account of the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain see Peter M. Dunne, S. J., "The expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, 1767," *Mid-America*, XIX (January, 1937), 3-30.

²² The figures given are Middendorf's, *ibid.*, 27; Jacob Baegert, S. J., *Nachrichten von der Amerikanische Halbinsel Californien: mit einem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten* (Mannheim, 1772), 301, says there were fifty Sonora-Sinaloa Jesuits. Baegert's volume 298-312, "Von Ankunft des Don Gaspar Pórtala[sic], und von dem Abzug der Jesuiten aus Californien."

²³ Middendorf, *Tagebuch*, Part III, 25-26.

arduous journey which took them by sea to San Blas and overland to Vera Cruz, which they reached on February 14, 1769, nine months after leaving Guaymas. The last part of their journey began on April 8, 1769³³ when they sailed from Vera Cruz for Havana, Cuba. Their voyage to Cádiz, including a long stop-over in Havana, consumed more than three months, for they did not reach Cádiz until July 12, 1769.³⁴

Father Pfefferkorn and the others from Sonora and Sinaloa were thus late arrivals, for most of the Jesuits had come in 1767 and 1768.³⁵ A few more had yet to reach Spain the following year. The earlier arrivals were housed in the large building which had been the former Jesuit mission hospice and in two other such establishments, but when these were filled the missionaries were taken to Franciscan, Dominican, Capuchin, Augustinian, and other cloisters, and were even lodged with private citizens.³⁶

The early arrivals in Spain were not forced to tarry long before continuing their journey to Italy. Father Och, who reached Spain in 1768, remained in Puerto de Santa María for three months. He states that this delay, which seems slight in comparison to those suffered by members of Pfefferkorn's band, was occasioned by the fact that the king had no ships available for transport purposes, and that the merchants of Santa María and Cádiz were not anxious for the Jesuits to depart. Each Jesuit received daily from the royal treasury eight *reales de vellon* and those who were ill, ten. Och estimated that one thousand *guilders* were spent daily by the ex-missionaries in 1768 and informs us

³³ Middendorf, *Tagebuch*, Part III, 46. The French vessel was the *Aventurier* aboard which had arrived one French and two Spanish royal mathematicians who were en route to Lower California to witness a solar eclipse. (For an account of this expedition see "Notes and Comment," in the present MID-AMERICA. Ed.)

³⁴ See *ibid.*, 27-48, for the description of the journey from Mátape to Spain.

³⁵ Mundwiler, *op. cit.*, 638, states that most of the expelled Jesuits reached Spain in 1768. Mundwiler's account of "German Jesuits in Spanish prisons in the 18th Century" as the title states, concerns itself primarily with the fortunes of German Jesuits during and after the expulsion, but as Mundwiler himself says, 623, "it is hardly possible to separate the fate of German Jesuits from that of Spanish Jesuits." Hence, this monograph of fifty-two pages which treats briefly all phases of the expulsion, from the promulgation of the royal edict to the final evacuation of the Jesuits from Spain's colonies and from Spain, is of wider interest than its title would indicate. The monograph is for the most part based upon the accounts of Jesuits who were unhappy participants in the expulsion and upon official documents from Simancas, Spain, in the collection of the Jesuit historian, Bernard Duhr.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 639; and Och, *Nachrichten*, 158-159.

that within a month after their arrival not a single piece of black cloth was to be had in either Santa María or Cádiz; all had been purchased by the Jesuits who needed to re-clothe themselves.³⁷

For the most part the ex-missionaries were not badly treated while in Spain. They mention cramped quarters and purposeless quizzing to which they were subjected from time to time, but they speak also of entertainments in the form of concerts to which they could listen or in which they participated³⁸ and of carrying on their religious life in a quite normal manner.³⁹

There is a note of bitterness in Middendorf's diary, however, when he describes the treatment accorded to the Sonora and Sinaloa ex-missionaries. They were brought from Cádiz to Santa María in small boats and there, heavily guarded, were marched to the former mission hospice, where they were lodged on the top floor in rooms with boarded-up windows. "We had hardly light enough to say our breviary. Guards stood in the halls and in the street below. Officers broke our bread and cut up our meat to see whether they contained perhaps a letter or some communication with outsiders. When it was time to have our beards clipped two soldiers with fixed bayonets stood at our sides so that we might not speak with the barber. When doctors were admitted to the sick it was always in the presence of officers so that nothing might be discussed except that which the demands of the sick made necessary. We were not permitted to celebrate Mass in the church, but some high ceiled rooms were cut through and made into a chapel where Mass was celebrated." "However," writes Middendorf patiently, "after a year we were permitted to open windows to get fresh air."⁴⁰

By 1770 there were few Jesuits left in Spain.⁴¹ Part of those who remained were forced to do so because illness rendered their removal impossible; others were kept prisoners while various charges against them were considered by the Spanish officials

³⁷ Och, *Nachrichten*, 161-163. Och, 160, mentions also a partly successful attempt which was made to break the morale of the members of the Society in Spain. A decree was read to them promising positions of honor, . . . to all who would renounce the Society; or they were offered complete endowments if they would enter another order. Of twelve hundred Jesuits in Santa María, one hundred and eighteen agreed. These were then informed that the king lacked authority to arrange such matters and that they would have to go to Italy to receive permission from the Pope and from the Jesuit Father General. Och adds that after this the one hundred and eighteen were no longer treated as Jesuits but as outcasts.

³⁸ Mundwiler, 640-642.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 647-678.

⁴⁰ Middendorf, *Tagebuch*, Part III, 48.

⁴¹ Mundwiler, 653.

who apparently wished to find a justification for the general expulsion of the Society.

Those Jesuits who remained captive in Spain for several years as scapegoats included many of the Sonora members of the Society and would also have included eight Germans who had been missionaries in Lower California had not these already sailed out of Cádiz on a Dutch ship the day before the promulgation of a royal order which would have kept them prisoners. Father Benno Ducrue of Munich, who reports this incident, did not know the reason for the order,⁴² but apparently the California Jesuits were believed to have traded with the Dutch.⁴³

Of the other Jesuits who remained in Spain Father Baegert, who was formerly a missionary in Lower California and who himself had fortunately departed on the Dutch ship with Ducrue,

⁴² How he learned about the order at all is not revealed in his diary. See "Des Herrn Abbé Franz Benno Ducrue ehemaligen Vorstebers aller californischen Missionen der Gesellschaft Jesu. Reise aus Californien, durch das Gebiet von Mexico nach Europa im Jahre 1767," in Murr, 389-430. Ducrue, 428-429, reveals the interesting fact that his group aboard the Dutch ship returned to Germany via Ostend rather than proceeding first to Italy, as most of the ex-missionaries had to do. The idea of returning to central Europe via the Netherlands originated with some of the Jesuits who favored this route "so that we," as they put it, "could stand immediately upon disembarking on the territory of our sovereign reigning prince of the house of Austria." See Mundwiler, 651-652.

⁴³ Ducrue, 428, and Duhr, 53, brand this a false charge. A document found by Dr. Engel Sluiter during his extensive researches in Dutch archives, 1935-36, reveals that in 1746 two Dutch ships landed on the west coast of New Spain, one at Matanchel, the other at San Telmo. The ships had been equipped at Batavia by Baron G. G. van Imhoff, Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company, with a view to engaging in the Mexican trade. The governor-general hoped that he might persuade the viceroy of New Spain to "conceal or consent to Dutch commerce," because no Manila galleon had set sail for three or four years, and it was believed by the Dutch governor-general that there was a shortage of European merchandise in New Spain. An Irish Jesuit, Don Lorenzo Ochaam [de Cahan] who had been aboard one of the vessels but had been taken in captivity to Colima, wrote a letter in English to one Don Thomas Power, "one of his friends" at Guadalajara. This letter of January 26, 1747, opened by the President of Guadalajara in the absence of Powers, states, among other things, that in 1745 de Cahan had talked with Spanish missionaries in Macao who had expressed their belief that a trading venture between Batavia and New Spain would without doubt succeed. De Cahan says that he accepted passage on one of the ships for Mexico on condition that "he would not be obliged to do anything contrary to his duty or to the interests of the French nation, in the service of which he had lived for twenty years, or to those of Spain, where he hoped to live some day . . ." See *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, The Hague, Netherlands. Koloniaal Aanwinsten tot 1887, No. 112. See also A. K. A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl, "De mislukte pogingen van G. G. van Imhoff tot het aanknoopen van handels-betrekkingen met Spaansch-Amerika in 1745 en 1746," in *Bijdragen tot de Taalland—en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Koninklijk Instituut voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, s'Gravenhage, 1917), 502-557.

writes that twenty-eight survivors from Sonora and Sinaloa,⁴⁴ and five others who had lived on the island of Chiloé were the only ones still in Spain out of a total of more than five thousand Jesuits. The Chiloé priests were in the fourth year of captivity, and the twenty-eight survivors from Sonora and Sinaloa in their third. All were kept closely confined and were carefully guarded. Their retention in Spain was due, according to Baegert, to the Spaniards' hope of learning from these ex-missionaries about "a great state crime" or some other knavery.⁴⁵

Father Baegert was correct in his surmise. Some of the Spanish officials believed that the "five Jesuits from Chiloé" had intended to deliver the island of Chiloé into the hands of the English.⁴⁶ The Extraordinary Privy Council on July 30, 1776 made a general explanation for the continued captivity of Jesuits who had worked as missionaries in the outlying provinces of the Americas. These Jesuits had advanced far into such lands and their adjacent islands; hence, their departure from Spain, it was believed, would be inimical to the crown, for they could reveal to crown enemies matters about the interiors of such regions.⁴⁷

Included in this group of "potential betrayers of state secrets" were Fathers Pfefferkorn, Middendorf and Gerstner. Father Och, fourth member of the original "quartet," had through fortuitous circumstances been able to leave Spain for Germany, via Italy, in June 1768,⁴⁸ but his companions, most of whom were from the Sonora and Sinaloa provinces, were scattered throughout Spain in various cloisters. When this distribution occurred Father Middendorf was lodged in a cloister near Ciudad Rodrigo. There he lived for a year and three months until his release was effected through the intercession of Empress Maria Theresa in 1776.⁴⁹ Middendorf was thus the second of the "quartet" to return to Germany.

⁴⁴ That is, survivors of the original fifty or fifty-one Jesuits from Sonora and Sinaloa.

⁴⁵ Baegert, 301, footnote.

⁴⁶ Duhr, 53. Father Fritz, one of the five, was not from Chiloé. When Fritz desired to know why he was kept prisoner with four other Jesuits with whom he had never worked, and what the accusation against him might be, he was told by the Marquis of Zeurina that he, the Marquis, also did not know. The Marquis explained that he had received an order to arrest five Jesuits, had found only four, the fifth never having appeared, and so had seized Father Fritz. This incident is related in Mundwiler, 660.

⁴⁷ Mundwiler, 654.

⁴⁸ Och reached Spain about a year and three months earlier than did the Sonora Jesuits, for he was in Mexico City when the decree of expulsion arrived there. This circumstance, and the fact that he was with the group arriving from Mexico City may explain why he did not share the fate of the other Sonora Jesuits.

⁴⁹ Middendorf, *Tagebuch*, Part III, 52-54.

The circumstances leading to Father Pfefferkorn's release are revealed in a letter which his sister, Isabella, wrote in 1777 (late March or early April) to the Elector of Köln, Max Ferdinand. She states: "I feel impelled to declare that my only living brother, the ex-Jesuit Ignaz Pfefferkorn, born in the Province of Cologne, has been held prisoner with other ex-Jesuits for a long time in a place until now unknown [to me]. But because one of them, Bernard Middendorf from Vechta in the diocese Münster, has already been freed, has returned home, and has had me informed that he saw my brother in the abbotry of St. Norbert and left him there ill,⁵⁰ [I beg that Your Electoral Highness intercede with His Majesty, the King of Spain, to secure my brother's release]."⁵¹

The elector sympathized with the supplicant and dispatched a letter to the king of Spain on April 8, 1777. With his own he included the letter from Isabella. There followed correspondence which involved the king and some of his ministers as well as the Extraordinary Council of State which took until December 3 to announce that it could find no objection to granting the elector's request. Hence, on December 16 the king approved Pfefferkorn's liberation and ordered that he be conducted to the border.⁵² Thus permission was obtained for Father Pfefferkorn to return to the land which he had left some twenty-three years earlier.⁵³

Pfefferkorn was now fifty-two years old. During his twenty-three years of travel, missionary work, and captivity in Spain he had seen and experienced much which was of the greatest interest to his countrymen, most of whom were eager for information about strange parts of the world. Their interest, it cannot be doubted, had a great deal to do with Pfefferkorn's decision to write and publish a comprehensive work about Sonora and about the expulsion of the Jesuits therefrom. Moreover, he desired to express his gratitude for his release from Spain to the Elector, Max Ferdinand, to whom the volumes are dedicated in terms of greatest affection. Pfefferkorn felt that he had a

⁵⁰ On his way out of Spain Middendorf remained for eight days in Ciudad Rodrigo, where Pfefferkorn was confined. Middendorf must have seen Pfefferkorn at this time, though he makes no mention of having done so in his diary. *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵¹ Mundwiler, 668, and Duhr, 54-55. Isabella Pfefferkorn was the wife of Berntges, electoral councilor of the board of domains (*Kammerrat*).

⁵² Mundwiler, 669.

⁵³ Father Michael Gerstner was not permitted to leave Spain until February, 1780 when his release was secured through the intercession of the Bishop of Würzburg. *Ibid.*, 669-670.

contribution to make to the store of the world's knowledge. Who had a more intimate knowledge of Sonora and its inhabitants, of its trees and its animals, and of its very earth, than he and his brother missionaries, who had traversed so much of the territory in which they had spent years of their lives instructing the natives in the Christian concept of a better life? Finally, would not such a work as he proposed to write justify, more than any philippic directed at Spain's policy, the work which the members of the Jesuit Society had been carrying on in the missionary fields of the Americas? Here, in other words, was a sample of what the servants of Christ had been doing; why, then, were they so rudely torn away from their apostolic labors? All these reasons for writing the *Description of the Province of Sonora* are either stated or implied in the two volumes.

Pfefferkorn mentions in his dedication a conversation which he had in Düsseldorf with the Elector when the latter granted permission that the work be dedicated to him. In the dedication Pfefferkorn states further that his purpose in writing the work "is to lift out of obscurity Sonora, which is still quite unknown in Germany but which is yet very remarkable, and to deliver to the public, which is extremely eager for information concerning distant lands and instructive journeys, no fictitious adventures but essential and useful history."⁵⁴

The preface following the dedication reveals many important facts about the *Description* itself. The author gives here the reasons for the long interval which elapsed between his return to Germany and the appearance of the first and second volumes of his work in 1794 and 1795. He makes some remarks as to the sources of information which he has called upon in the preparation of this work other than his own observations and experiences. He summarizes briefly the contents of the three volumes, and comments upon the annotations of his "learned friend," A. C. Pfefferkorn writes:

Sonora is one of the most important countries in all Spanish America, as well because of its fertile soil as because of its many and rich gold and silver mines. But as splendid as that country is, up to now its condition has been little known in Germany. At least, I have neither read nor heard that a credible description of it has appeared.

In the eleven years which I spent in the management of three different missions,⁵⁵ and on the journeys which I often had to make

⁵⁴ Pfefferkorn, I, *Dedication*.

⁵⁵ Pfefferkorn may have been at mission Sonoltac for a short time, but

through other regions of this country, I had the opportunity of viewing a good part of it myself and of becoming very familiar with it. The many years' association with all the other missionaries, who had lived in Sonora, during the tedious return journey to Europe and during our six years' captivity in the harbor of Santa María at Cádiz, supplied me with dependable accounts of that which I had not seen myself.

After my return to Germany, various persons of distinction and many of my most esteemed friends desired that I endeavor to communicate to the public my collection of the noteworthy facts about Sonora. But my health, impaired by the great hardship of my journey and captivity, as well as other lesser obstacles, often kept me from working, and till now thwarted my wish to gratify the desire of my noble patron. Finally, however, despite all difficulties, I have brought the work to a conclusion, and I hereby now give to the gentle reader the true description of this excellent country.

One must not expect a detailed and complete natural history from me; for such a work would have required the most exact observations, and consequently much more time than was permitted by the official duties of a missionary, who was practically always occupied with the physical and spiritual care of his Indians. Nevertheless, I shall faithfully and honestly submit to my readers that which I saw with my own eyes and myself experienced and that which I learned from my Sonora brethren or other credible witnesses, and I doubt not that many of my accounts will appear remarkable enough to them.

The entire work comprises three volumes. In the first volume I describe first the boundaries and different divisions of the country, with the Indian tribes living therein. Herewith I trace the courses of the rivers which can be seen on the appended map, as well as the villages of the peoples distributed along the banks of these rivers. This map was in part made, in part approved, by the general agreement of all the missionaries in Sonora, and was found to be so good that we used it without erring on our frequent journeys through the country.

Following the description of the region, I proceed to natural history, which I separate into the plant-kingdom, the mineral-kingdom, and the animal-kingdom, after the customary arrangement. Then follows a quite detailed account of the apostate, barbarous Seris and the neighboring wild Apaches, two nations which before and during my residence there caused the most frightful devastations in Sonora with their plundering inroads and hostile invasions, and now, perhaps, have already brought about the complete destruction of this splendid country.

At the end of the first volume I place a list of prices paid in Sonora

spent most of his eleven years in Sonora at missions Ati and Cucurpe. See above, pp. 235-236, and below, p. 245, and footnote 74.

during my time there for American and European products. Many a reader will find pleasure in this index, and from it will also be aware of numerous new regulations made recently by the Spaniards in their America, as well as the tremendous profit which is realized there on most of the European goods.

In the second volume are described the bodily constitution and disposition of the Sonoran Indians, their manners and customs, beliefs, occupations, and so on. In this connection I confirm, indeed, much that Robertson and others report in their writings about the American savages, but much also I call in question, or have to deny entirely. Should many things which I write concerning the Indians seem incredible, my answer is that I do not deceive my reader with fabulous narratives or those borrowed from strange, often spurious sources, but deliver to him only such accounts as are based upon my own observations, inquiries, and constant experiences through many years, as well as on those of all other missionaries who were with me in Sonora. I close this volume with a detailed description of the behavior of the converted Indians; of the regulation and internal administration of the Sonora missions; finally, of the Spaniards living in Sonora.

The third volume contains the description of my return journey from Sonora, through America, Spain, France, and Brabant, to Germany. In this description some things appear which will be of interest to many readers. It contains, for example, the royal order by which the Jesuits were perpetually banned from all parts of the Spanish monarchy, together with the appended secret instructions of the then prime minister, Conde de Aranda, according to whose orders all Spanish officials were to execute the king's orders—which last part has never before been published in Germany.

There is an account of the arrest of the Sonora missionaries and of their treatment on the journey and during their imprisonment. Here also is recounted the remarkable behavior of the Indians and Spaniards in America toward the missionaries when in the year 1768 they were led through the entire Kingdom of Mexico to Vera Cruz as state prisoners. In the narration of this slow and often interrupted journey I describe some cities and also other important places and regions of which the names have hardly been heard in Germany. My delay in the harbor of Vera Cruz, through which passes the famous and very considerable trade of Spain with Mexico, gives me the opportunity to entertain my readers with various accounts of this trade.

One can also learn in more detail from my work than from any other such German work about the island of Cuba, with the important city, Havana, and its excellent harbor. I do not relate much that is uncommon of the places and regions which I passed through on my journey through Spain, because I had neither time nor opportunity to inspect them sufficiently for their correct description; also, because apart from that, considerable information of Spain is already current

here through the geography by Büsching, and the works of other authors. Nevertheless, the reader will find much that is interesting in my account of this kingdom, especially in the description of the Sierra Morena, which has in recent times become famous, and of the provinces of Biscaya, Alava, and Guipúzcoa, of which he perhaps has not learned heretofore.

As an appendix to this third volume, I add the reliable reports furnished us by the meritorious missionaries Eusebius Kino, Jacobus Sedelmeyer, Joannes Hugarte, and Ferdinandus Consack of their journeys, undertaken partly by land through Sonora, partly on the gulf of California, to the Colorado River, the purpose of their investigation being to ascertain whether California was an island, the opinion of the past, or only a peninsula, as it is now known to be. During my return journey, and during the time spent in the harbor of Santa María at Cádiz, Father Jacobus Sedelmeyer was a companion in captivity for eight whole years. In frequent conversations with this most reverend man I learned from him not only his own observations concerning the aforementioned subject, but also most of those made by his three brethren Kino, Hugarte, and Consack, [with the last two of whom he was well acquainted]. Because of this evidence of their truth the reports mentioned should be of even more interest to the reader.

Finally, I mention that a learned friend, who does not wish to be named, placed at my disposal various instructive footnotes to my work. These serve partly to confirm that which might seem too strange and unusual in my narrative of the customs and the nature of the Sonorans; also, to point out what is common to all American Indians, and in what they differ from each other. I was sure that these footnotes would be pleasing to the reader, and decided, therefore, to insert them into my *Description of Sonora*. They will be indicated in the work with the initials *A. C.* My own footnotes, on the other hand, will be inserted without this addition.⁵⁶

Pfefferkorn's third volume was probably never published, if indeed, it was ever written, for the only notice of it which has come to light is contained in the author's own preface, quoted above.⁵⁷ Volumes I and II of the *Description* were published in 1794 and 1795 respectively, when Pfefferkorn was about seventy years of age. One may surmise then that the aged missionary died before he could bring his projected work to completion, for had it existed in manuscript form it could have been published posthumously or it might at least have been discovered by later investigators.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Pfefferkorn, *Preface*.

⁵⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁵⁸ Such as Anton Huonder, S. J., Bernard Duhr, S. J., Carlos Sommer-vogel, S. J., or Robert Streit, O. F. M., to name but four.

Concerning the writing and publication of volumes I and II, there are certain questions which cannot be answered directly but about which it is entertaining to speculate. For instance, where did Pfefferkorn get the funds necessary to publish the volumes? It is stated on the title pages of both the volumes that they were published "at the author's expense." There had been a possibility that the ex-Jesuits would receive life-long pensions from the king of Spain after the expulsion, but apparently these pensions did not materialize.⁵⁹

What were the specific documentary sources Pfefferkorn had at hand when he put the volumes into their final form? The private papers of the expelled Jesuits had been, for the most part, confiscated by Spanish officials during the course of the expulsion of the Jesuits; commissions were established to read through the confiscated papers with the greatest care in the hope that "incriminating evidence" would be unearthed.⁶⁰ Pfefferkorn states in introducing his chapter on the establishment of the Sonora missions⁶¹ that he and his brother Jesuits were "robbed" of their papers, but in a footnote he remarks that in spite of this loss he was able to save and bring to Germany a part of the writings which he had set down while in Sonora.⁶² Moreover, it is clear from the author's remarks concerning the conditions in New Spain and in Sonora after 1767 that he had access to letters from New Spain and to Spanish newspapers during his captivity in Spain.⁶³ All of these materials were of assistance to him in writing the volumes; but they must have been only fragmentary in nature. Indeed, Pfefferkorn states that his account of the establishment of the missions is not entirely reliable; that he has written down only what he could remember.⁶⁴

Pfefferkorn's indebtedness to Father Jacob Sedelmayr for valuable information must have been considerable. Sedelmayr had gone to Mexico in 1735, some twenty years before Pfefferkorn's arrival there. He had worked in Sonora and on the California peninsula, and had explored both regions extensively.⁶⁵ Pfefferkorn definitely acknowledges that during their mutual

⁵⁹ Och, *Nachrichten*, 168.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

⁶¹ Pfefferkorn, II, 315. Middendorf, *Tagebuch*, Part III, 47, and Ducrue, 424, speak of Jesuit papers being confiscated in Havana, Cuba. See Mundwiler, 668, for further information about confiscations.

⁶² Pfefferkorn, *loc. cit.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, I, 191 ff.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 316.

⁶⁵ Huonder, 115.

captivity in Spain he received from Sedelmayr much information concerning the latter's explorations and the findings of other earlier Jesuits known to Sedelmayr. Sedelmayr may have made other contributions which Pfefferkorn does not take occasion to mention. Sedelmayr could have had a large share in making the composite map appended to the first volume, for he is known to have made maps and to have written careful reports about the regions which he explored.⁶⁶ Too, Sedelmayr was a student of Indian languages. Father Och states in his diary that after ten years of work Sedelmayr had prepared a lexicon of the Pima language which was destroyed in 1751 during the Pima revolt.⁶⁷ It is possible that Sedelmayr's knowledge on this subject may have assisted Pfefferkorn in drawing up the short treatise on Sonora languages which he includes in the second volume of the *Description*.⁶⁸ Pfefferkorn himself spoke the Pima language, however, as he had studied it with Father Kaspar Stiger, missionary at San Ignacio, who had been in Sonora about twenty-six years before Pfefferkorn arrived there.⁶⁹

It is unnecessary to speculate further concerning the "composite" nature of the *Description* or about its other possible "co-authors." Pfefferkorn speaks of receiving much of his information from his brother Black Robes and from other "credible witnesses," for he felt, as the reader must feel, that in so doing he was broadening the base of experience and knowledge upon which the volumes rest. If he seems to us credulous at times in utilizing this second hand information, repeating as he does "yarns" about snakes that lash offenders with their tails, about mountain goats escaping from the hunter by precipitating themselves over cliffs to fall unharmed on their strong horns many feet below, we must be interested to learn that in his time such stories were often accepted as fact.

The same desire to increase the value of his work by widening its scope led him to include in both volumes some rather copious notes supplied by his "learned friend," ⁷⁰ A. C., who did not wish to be named. Who was A. C.? His identity has not yet been established, but he was an individual who had read widely

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ Och, *Nachrichten*, 75.

⁶⁸ Pfefferkorn, 240 ff.

⁶⁹ Pfefferkorn, 243, says that Stiger had been a missionary for thirty-six years, but Huonder, 116, states that Stiger arrived in Mexico in 1730. Hence, he would have been in Mexico only twenty-six years before Pfefferkorn arrived there.

⁷⁰ See above, p. 246.

in the then available literature on the New World. It is quite possible that *A. C.* was an ex-Jesuit. He not only was Pfefferkorn's friend but was acquainted also with Father Georg Rehds, an ex-Jesuit, who had been a missionary in Lower California.⁷¹ Moreover, he had access to some writings of Father Joannes Breuer, ex-Jesuit, and onetime missionary in Brazil;⁷² he does not reveal how he came by these. More than once *A. C.* chides his contemporary, the historian Robertson, for the latter's failure to use missionary letters as sources for descriptions of the Americas.⁷³ And *A. C.* himself relied heavily on the writings of Jesuit missionaries for his annotations of the *Description*. The annotations of *A. C.* add little that is valuable to Pfefferkorn's volumes. The notes are usually irrelevant to the material given by Pfefferkorn. Also they are tedious, inasmuch as *A. C.* attempted to generalize about the Western Hemisphere from incomplete and inadequate sources and strained to compare a wide variety of phenomena observed in Sonora with analogous or similar phenomena recorded in connection with regions other than Sonora.

These annotations provide the only irrelevant material in the *Description*. Pfefferkorn himself seldom deviates from his purpose, which is to tell as much as he knows about Sonora. His organization of subject matter is quite categorical, especially in the first volume which is devoted primarily to "natural history." This categorical method of writing doubtless has its advantages in enabling the author to set down with greater clarity facts which he was reproducing from memory and from incomplete notes. Perhaps also the confiscation of most of Pfefferkorn's notes by the Spaniards accounts for the most conspicuous weakness of the *Description*, namely, its frequent failure to associate matters of geographical and anthropological fact with specific regions.

The author invites criticism also for his predilection for including *Merkwürdigkeiten* when the reader is consumed with curiosity about the mission system or perhaps about the author's own activities as a missionary. With regard to the latter subject Pfefferkorn states in his preface that he was a missionary in

⁷¹ For references to Rehds, see Pfefferkorn, I, 136, footnote; II, 300, footnote. Huonder, 114, says that Rehds went to Mexico in 1748 and worked in Lower California until the expulsion.

⁷² For references to Breuer, see Pfefferkorn, I, 284, footnote, and 297, footnote.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, II, 128, footnote.

three missions, but nowhere in his two volumes does he mention specifically that he was charged with caring for more than the two missions of Ati and Cucurpe. Here is a case where our author's reluctance to write autobiographically makes impossible a complete answer to the problem of the third mission.⁷⁴

Despite various weaknesses of the *Description*, both in style and in content, we may find much satisfaction in Pfefferkorn's achievement. Everything he has written in the two volumes is of historical, geographical, anthropological, or antiquarian interest and value. He had seen more and done more during his lifetime of three score years and ten than many another of his contemporaries, and he humbly offers us his *Description of the Province of Sonora* as a testimony of the most active and fruitful part of his life. His intention was solely to write a description of a region in which he worked, not an autobiography of his own labors in that region. It is yet probable that those glimpses which he gives us of his own life in Sonora, especially as his existence must have been like that of his brother missionaries, are historically the most valuable portions of the volumes.

One pictures a sturdy young man, keenly aware of the enormous, perhaps insurmountable, obstacles that stand between his determination to bring spiritual enlightenment to a brutish people and the realization of that aim. Such obstacles ranged from the comparatively simple problem of making himself understood by the natives to the vastly more difficult ones of altering the barbaric manners and customs of the natives so that they would be the more receptive to Christianity, and of rescuing the Indians from the evil consequences which attended their weaker culture in its clash with the stronger Spanish culture.

He made himself understood to the Indians by learning their language. He achieved something in altering their manners and

⁷⁴ When Pfefferkorn first arrived in Sonora he was ordered to re-establish mission Sonóita, scene of Father Ruhen's martyrdom which took place in 1751 during the Pima revolt. This project came to naught; there is no record that Pfefferkorn did any evangelizing in the Sonóita area. The "third mission" was perhaps that of San Ignacio, where Father Stiger resided, and where Pfefferkorn studied the Pima tongue with the aged Swiss Jesuit. A note in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States, 1531-1880* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 561-562, gives still another clue to the identity of the author's third mission. Bancroft refers to a letter of Father José Garrucho, visitor in Sonora, wherein there is reference to "Father Ignacio Pfeffencor," missionary at Guébavi. San Gabriel de Guébavi was but a few miles northeast of present-day Nogales, Arizona. Bancroft derived his information from the "Informe del Padre Lizazoin sobre las Provincias de Sonora y Nueva Viscaya," in *Materiales para la historia de Sonora*.

customs by his own gentle example, by ceaselessly correcting and guiding them, and now and then, it seems, by a display of righteous wrath. He combatted the "evil individuals" among the Spaniards in the only way that he and his fellow missionaries knew, namely, by attempting to keep the Indians isolated from the members of the conquering race.

This priest was intensely practical in his evangelizing. He managed his stock and his farming so well that he could save money with which to buy clothing and implements for his Indians. He studied books on medicine and investigated native remedies so that he might physic his sick charges. He rode horseback in the sun and in the rain, by day and by night, to minister to the wants of his flock. He was practical enough even to be discouraged at times, but his feelings of discouragement were only the breaths he took to enable him to work the more vigorously.

And with all this he preserved his sense of humor. We see him withhold his laughter only with difficulty as he holds a mirror before a grimacing Indian who is investigating the mysteries of this strange object for the first time. We note his concern at the sight of an Indian lying unconscious before him, but sense his amusement when he is able to bring instantaneous relief to this native—who has gorged himself on mesquite fruit—by tickling the glutton's throat with a feather. And we watch him urge his horse to a gallop as he accepts the challenge of his Indian guides who have boasted of their fleetness of foot.

In the saddle or out of it, Pfefferkorn's life as missionary was an arduous round of service to his Indians and to those Spaniards who might be living within the boundaries of his mission district. He acted as spiritual guide, as doctor and nurse, as magistrate, as teacher of music, as farmer and stock-raiser. With all this he yet had time to observe and record on paper and in his memory the large number of facts and generalizations which years later he wrote in his *Description*. But he was prevented from assembling yet more elaborate accounts, for in his own words the writing of a detailed and complete natural history "would have required the most exact observations, and consequently much more time than was permitted by the official duties of a missionary."⁷⁵

Still there were times when by candle-light in the solitude of

⁷⁵ See above, p. 244.

his chamber he could ponder over the problems which are too big for man to understand. Hosts of brilliant moths, attracted by the candle, fluttered into the room extinguishing the light with their whirring wings until the priest fashioned a paper screen to shield the flame. Now he could work, but now also his native curiosity overcame him. He placed vessels of water next the lantern so that the moths, colliding with the screen would fall into the water trapped. "Then," he says, "I had the opportunity to admire the inimitable colors and decorations which nature squandered on these insects. . . . It is impossible for a rational mind to remain unmoved when regarding this wonder of nature. One feels the undeniable existence of the Creator; one is astonished at His incomprehensible work. One is humbled by His unmeasured grandeur; and one is animated by the most tender desires to bring to nature's Creator the fitting sacrifice of veneration, praise, and thankfulness."⁷⁶

THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN

⁷⁶ Pfefferkorn, I, 381-383.

Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, Dominican of the Frontier

The march of civilization is not a self-propelling movement. Behind it, giving it direction and character, is a complexity of forces, good, bad and indifferent. It has been said of one of the greatest civilizing efforts in history, the Spanish pioneering of the New World, that three capital motives inspired the actors, gospel, greed and glory, the urges, namely, to spread the Faith, to acquire wealth, to further national prestige or individual fame. Of the three motives, that of spreading the Faith was in a sense the most fundamental. No one abreast of the findings of present-day research fails to see that Spanish policy in the New World was directed with more sincerity than might at first sight appear to a religious aim—the settled purpose to bring under the yoke of Christ the native populations whose lands were overrun by the ruthless *conquistadores*. This was the missionary idea, the effort to throw out the boundaries of the Church in ever widening circles among the aborigines sitting in darkness and the shadow of death.

What was true of Spain in America was also true of France in America. That glamorous figure, Samuel Champlain, founder of New France, announced from the beginning that the purpose of his great adventure was to carry the Cross even more so than the fleur-de-lis into the vast reaches of the New World. So it resulted that amid Canadian forests as well as the prairies and streams of the valley of the Mississippi were to be found the missionaries of New France, plying their tasks of spiritual instruction as well as economic and cultural uplift on behalf of the red men. That sacred *magna carta* of the Christian teacher, the divine injunction, "teach all nations," was also in a very true sense the *magna carta* of civilization. No other agency in the stream of time has achieved even a tithe of the civilizing and cultural effects that were begotten of the Christ-given commission to teach all nations.

The study of the Christian missionary as the torch-bearer of civilization no less than of the Gospel is an intriguing one and an

EDITOR'S NOTE: An address delivered at Rosary College, River Forest, Ill., Mazzuchelli Day, November 4, 1936.

infinity of books could be written around the theme. Need I tell you that here in the Middle United States the missionary has made his contribution to whatever economic and cultural development has been achieved? Very recently attempts have been made to evaluate the place of the non-Catholic missionary and religious teacher in the history of the frontier. This is a study of importance, but it does not concern us here. What may concern us for the moment is the place which our own Catholic missionaries fill in the frontier story. Unquestionably the word "frontier" has a magic about it; it overflows with the finest associations. It tells of romance, adventure, courage, enterprise, sacrifice, and, let it be said, for only the truth is satisfying, it tells also of things not at all inspiring, of sordid acquisitiveness, social injustice, man's inhumanity to man. But by and large and in the wealth of meaning, of denotation and connotation expressed by it, this single verbal counter, this term "frontier" has probably more in it to inspire and thrill than any other term of those we make use of in rehearsing the facts of American history. It recaptures for us the entire process by which the pioneers of other days made their way with slow but relentless pace across the continent from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific coast. It epitomizes that victorious wrestling with the wilderness, that infinite output of initiative, energy, daring, and sacrifice that went to the making of the West.

The frontier began on the day which saw the first colonist turn his back on the sight of the Atlantic to seek a new home in the direction of the setting sun. So did the westward movement begin, so did the frontier start to shape itself as the most significant phenomenon in our national history. That thin fringe of settlement which we call the frontier, that advance column of civilized or semi-civilized life, that spearhead of economic development thrust into the barbarism beyond, had a stimulus behind it and this was the lure of free land in the West. Millions of acres of government land of the finest agricultural possibilities were within reach at prices that made them a gift. Here was the prize that eastern folk stretched forth their hands to grasp. Here was the objective that drew them on, creating thereby the American frontier and the race of American frontiersmen. And when one has said "frontier," one has said the whole of American history, at least if we are to accept the gospel according to Turner as established truth.

Forty years and three have now elapsed since Professor

Henry Jackson Turner announced his famous theory which sought to explain the entire course of American history with all the major issues and problems involved therein in terms of the advancing frontier. The theory gave a decided impulse to work in the western history field and a whole school of historians grew up around it. But if it has had and continues to have its ardent devotees, it also has its searching critics. On economic and material factors it does of a certainty lay heavy stress and sometimes in a manner to suggest that non-material and spiritual factors did not operate at all. And here precisely is the weakness of the Turnerian viewpoint, when stated, as it often is, without qualification and reserve. The quest for free land and other motives of the economic order stimulated the westward movement enormously and kept it going; but motives of a higher sort, cultural, religious, spiritual in their scope, were also at work to make the movement what it was. The missionaries who plied their ministerial tasks on the line of the frontier had not gone thither with a view to taking up land and making a living nor were they fired by dreams of economic wealth. They had gone thither with a view to preach the Gospel, to save souls, to promote the glory of God; these aims were primary with them, though in compassing them they incidentally made contributions of note to the social and economic welfare of the communities in which they lived. They were in the truest sense of the term frontiersmen, but frontiersmen with ideals and aims that marked them off from other elements in the pioneer population in which their lot was cast. It is to honor the memory of a great frontiersman of this type that we are come here today.

For the thirty years and more that the Italian-born Dominican friar, Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, was a participant in the American scene, the theatre of his activities was some or other corner of the American frontier. When in 1830 he went up from his Ohio home to Mackinac as a newly consecrated priest, the holy oils of ordination still fresh upon him, he found himself on the rim of civilized America; when he passed away thirty-four years later, it was in an obscure settlement in southwestern Wisconsin, a region that had scarcely emerged as yet from the pioneer stage of development. In the years between he had labored in divers localities; at Sault-Ste-Marie in Michigan, at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien in Wisconsin, at Galena and Rock Island in Illinois, at Dubuque, Davenport, Iowa City in Iowa—all, in his day, pioneer communities with the ear-marks of immaturity

plain upon them. Almost exclusively the people he dealt with were of the humbler sort, red men of various tribes, French-Canadian habitants of pure or mixed blood, the simple, unlettered immigrant stock, chiefly from Ireland or Germany, who were beginning to people the Northwest. Rarely in his missionary rounds did he meet with tokens of culture and social refinement such as he had known in the aristocratic Italian circles from which he came. Providence had indeed directed his steps to play the rôle of an apostle of the frontier and in the admirable efficiency with which he played it is to be found his chief title to posterity's gratitude and praise.

In a revealing letter which he addressed to that great object of his admiration, Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, Father Mazzuchelli declared that the three outstanding tasks of the missionary priest of his day were: to preserve the Catholic faith of such as were already blessed with it, to organize new parishes, and to build new churches. To these may be added two other tasks which he leaves unmentioned in his letter to Rosati, though in his own ministry he devoted himself to them with the utmost earnestness, namely, the conversion of the Indians and the spread of Catholic education. Here were five objectives which between them absorbed the energies and priestly zeal of this devoted priest of the Order of Preachers during the years that he moved about on the American frontier. The result was a personal achievement for the upbuilding of the Church unique in the history of western Catholicism. From the Great Lakes region to the banks of the Mississippi he pursued his tireless and highly fruitful ministry, sowing often in travail of spirit and distress of body the harvests which later generations were to gather in with joy.

The first of the objectives to engage the zeal of Father Mazzuchelli, to pursue the line of thought which he himself indicated, was the preservation of the Faith in the various Catholic groups with which he made contact. Any priest who rises to the demands of his high vocation must necessarily be concerned for the preservation of the Faith in the souls committed to his care. But with Father Mazzuchelli concern for souls, for their eternal salvation, which meant supplying them with sacramental and other means of grace, rose to heroic heights. One of Newman's "Plain and Parochial Sermons" bears the caption "Self-denial the Test of Religious Earnestness." Nothing evidences more the downright sincerity and resoluteness of a priest of God in his care of souls than the sacrifices he is ready to make on their ac-

count. The sacrifices which Father Mazzuchelli made of personal convenience and comfort, the physical hardships he submitted to in order to be of service to souls, were beyond number. Painful journeys of scores of miles were made to bring the sacraments to the sick and dying and made often with just enough of nourishment to keep body and soul together. He tells in his memoirs of a missionary trip on which for a whole week he subsisted on nothing more than the meager stock of bread and butter he had brought along with him. But experiences of this sort, however painful they may have been, were made little of when they were the price to be paid for the salvation of a human soul. It is unnecessary to say that it was vivid faith and the fire which springs therefrom, the love of God, which stimulated the stalwart Dominican in his eager quest of souls. The attitude of St. Paul he had made his own also, "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." And with what lively realization of its import he had taken to heart the Master's own word, "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Briefly, his attitude in the sacred ministry was at all times that of the saints as expressed in the piercing plea of one of them, "*Domine, da mihi animas!*" The thirty-four years of his indefatigable ministerial career closed in fine on this note of sacrifice of self in the pursuit of souls. The illness which terminated in his holy death was brought on by the haste with which he had exposed himself to inclement weather to answer a distant sick-call.

I said a moment ago, a very obvious thing, it must be confessed, that Father Mazzuchelli was a man of vivid faith. It is the characteristic of him which more than any other is brought home to one by the reading of his memoirs. The realities of the unseen world, the realities which eye hath not seen nor ear heard but which faith alone makes contact with, were for him those which alone mattered. Nothing so much as his abounding supernatural faith explains what he was and what he did. Everything about him, his patience, his self-denial, his charity, his zeal for souls, the eagerness and ardor of his ministry, strike their roots in the depth and sincerity of his faith.

I have thought it pertinent to stress this aspect of Father Mazzuchelli's spiritual life, because, as I cannot repeat too often, it helps us more than anything else to understand him, and also because it synthesizes better than anything that I know the message with which the record of his life will be eloquent down the years. No prayer could be more beautiful than the one which

the Gospel tells us the disciples addressed on one occasion to the Master: "O Lord, increase our faith!" That surely was Mazzuchelli's lifelong prayer. That surely must be ours also, if life is to spell success for us and not a dismal failure. "O Lord, increase our faith." Deepen it, broaden it, make it proof against the vanities and futilities of time, awaken us ever more to its beauty, its power, make us at all times so minded that it will ever be for us the pearl of great price, the one thing necessary, having which, we have all things, and losing which, we lose the one thing which makes life worth living.

A second objective pointed out by Father Mazzuchelli as proper to the missionary-priest of his day was the organization of new parishes. The Church of Christ as now organized is a society of complex structure integrated of many administrative units, as ecclesiastical provinces, archdioceses, dioceses and parishes. Of the units named the parish is the most basic, the laity being brought therein in immediate dependence on the parish priest as the nearest to them of all the ecclesiastical superiors to whom they owe obedience. It was Father Mazzuchelli's endeavor, whenever the thing was possible, to associate the scattered Catholic settlers together in parochial groups. Only with such organization, which brought with it their official commitment to the care of pastors with diocesan credentials, were their spiritual interests duly safeguarded. The list of parishes that owe their creation to Father Mazzuchelli is an imposing one and witnesses to one of the most fruitful phases of his apostolate. Both his memoirs and his correspondence with Bishop Rosati of St. Louis are replete with data, interesting and edifying, which illustrate his activities as a founder and organizer of parishes.

But no parish is really organized until it has its church. The church is the dynamic center of parochial life, the normal rendezvous where the pastor makes contact with his assembled flock and dispenses to them the sacraments and the Word of God. To build churches was therefore the third objective which, as Father Mazzuchelli saw it, the pioneer missionary-priest of his day had to have before him. In the rôle of church-builder he himself achieved a distinction which is unique among the many which history attaches to his name. Not only did he make the preliminary arrangements and collect the funds for the erection of numerous houses of worship in the far-flung territory over which his ministry ranged; on occasion at least he made architect's plans for such structures, which were built in accordance with

them. He had a talent for architecture which he had cultivated by formal study of the subject in his younger days. No talent could have served him better in his experience on the frontier. Repeatedly the need was felt for a new church here or there and in his rôle of architect he could help, directly or indirectly, to supply the need. And so he planned churches, built them, gave them names. He put up St. John's Church at Green Bay; later, when he had shifted his field of operations to the upper Mississippi, his hands were busy rearing one sacred edifice after another, among them, St. Raphael's at Dubuque, St. Michael's at Galena, St. Gabriel's at Prairie du Chien, St. Anthony's at Davenport, St. Paul's at Burlington, The Assumption at Iowa City. His reputation as an architect became widespread in Catholic and non-Catholic circles alike and it is unnecessary to repeat here the well-known tradition that he furnished plans which were put to account in the erection of some of the historic public buildings of the Northwest.

Organizing parishes, building churches, and in general, exercising the sacred ministry on behalf of souls already blessed with the gift of faith did not by any means exhaust the zealous activities of Father Mazzuchelli. He owed also a debt of service to the thousands of Indians of the various tribes still to be found in the wide field which he cultivated. The efficiency with which he discharged that debt stands out as one of the most striking features of his apostolate. The Church has ever cherished and cherishes today with probably greater earnestness than ever missionary enterprise among the heathen. Her persistent desire, her steady hope is that all heathendom be brought within range of her salutary teaching. To us, who are aware of Father Mazzuchelli's vivid faith, ardent charity, and their product, an untiring zeal for souls, it seems a matter of course that he should have turned wherever opportunity offered to the rich harvest that lay within easy reach of the garnerer, to the forlorn Indians. At Mackinac, at the very outset of his missionary career, he made the acquaintance of one tribe after another, among them, the Chippewa and Ottawa. Later he worked with excellent results among the Menominee and Winnebago of Wisconsin. What chiefly impresses one in his career as Indian missionary is the abundant visible success which blessed his labors. He picked up the languages of the red men with a facility that was nothing less than extraordinary. He was but a relatively short time with the Winnebago when he had mastered their language to a degree that

enabled him to prepare a prayer-book in Winnebago, which was printed in Detroit. Brought under the yoke of Christ, his Indian neophytes showed themselves worthy of it. Father Mazzuchelli said of the thousand or more of Father Baraga's Catholic Indians at Arbre Croche that most if not nearly all of them lived in the baptismal innocence that came to them in the sacrament of regeneration. The Dominican's own converts among the Winnebago ran into numbers surprisingly large. A school for the children of this tribe was one of his cherished dreams. He never realized the dream, but the efforts he made to set up such an institution and secure for it a government appropriation make an interesting episode of his career and one that reveals him in the light of a personality of force and determination, who knew how to deal with pressing business problems when need arose. All in all, Father Mazzuchelli carried on in striking fashion the glorious tradition of evangelical service rendered to the American red men through the centuries by zealous missionaries of the great religious orders of the Church.

No one has yet put on record with anything like adequacy the contribution which Father Mazzuchelli made to the cause of Catholic education in the United States. He was nothing if not alive to the tendencies and implications of the new social order that was taking shape around him. Above all, he was quick to sense the part which schools were to play in preserving and enlarging the Faith in the American Catholic body. He saw a young nation, largely non-Catholic in its religious status, growing up under his eyes and, with the keen intelligence that ever marked him, he divined the importance which, as a vigorous and assertive democracy, it would inevitably attach to the proper education of its citizens. American Catholics would therefore have to be an educated body if they were to rise to the demands of the noble citizenship which they were beginning to share in ever increasing numbers. At the same time there was the fact to be reckoned with that the education suited to them would have to be of the religious type, one that would insure to Catholic youth due instruction and training in the Faith. This meant Catholic schools and to provide them in the parishes under his care Father Mazzuchelli left no stone unturned. In his program of parish organization the school house was a no less important factor than the church. Sometimes in the initial stages of parish growth the same structure had necessarily to serve the purposes of both; but with time and means it generally became possible to

terminate this makeshift arrangement and a school house, sacred to the high ends of Catholic education, rose alongside the parish church.

But school buildings alone could not solve the problem they were supposed to; teachers had to be found to conduct the classes. Mazzuchelli met the situation with characteristic resourcefulness. He did so by taking a step the most fertile and far-reaching in results of all that are on record in the wide sweep of his ministry. This was the foundation of a congregation of sisters whose major interest would be education. He crossed the Atlantic to lay his plans before the highest superiors of his order and secure approval for them. The result was the establishment at his hands with authorization of the Holy See of a community of Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic under the name of the Congregation of the Most Holy Rosary. Later came papal approval of the constitutions of the sisterhood, which from the first had made its way to a place, a notable one, among the groups of valiant religious women engaged in the apostolate of Catholic education in the United States. Elementary education was the most pressing need of the moment in the parishes of the Northwest, as elsewhere in the land, and this need the new American foundation of Dominican Sisters set themselves to supply. But it is a remarkable fact that almost simultaneously the same group of nuns took up the work of the higher education of women.

Father Mazzuchelli has his place, which is a distinguished one, among the pioneer educational leaders of the Northwest. He opened at Sinsinawa Mound in 1846 a school of college grade for boys, an astonishing institution to find in an environment which still had about it the characteristic ear-marks of the frontier. A few years later the same indefatigable promoter of education opened, under the auspices of the sisterhood he had founded, St. Clara's Academy for young women, an institution which developed into St. Clara's College and ultimately into the majestic center of instruction in the arts and sciences in which we are gathered today. The program of academic service which Rosary College is at present carrying out looks back for its inspiration to the illustrious Dominican educator whose holy memory we venerate at this moment. Perhaps his expectations, always lively, as suited his ardent and forward-looking temper, did not envisage the impressive development we look upon today; but certain it is that Rosary College does but carry forward the tradi-

tion of higher education for the Catholic womanhood of America which he initiated and even realized in his day on a scale amazing enough when one considers the crude material realities of the pioneer scene in which his work was done.

Here is a rapid survey of Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli's life-story, a wholly inadequate survey, it is plain, when account is taken of the range of achievement it is meant to cover. But in any case it may be possible, perhaps, to discern, however dimly, through its feeble lines, the commanding figure of a great pioneer priest of the West, who served Church and state with admirable devotion and left them both permanently in his debt. I have chosen to give Father Mazzuchelli the character of a clerical frontiersman and in doing so I am confident I have done no violence to the facts. Destiny, which is the Providence of God, had made the American frontier the scene of his earthly wayfaring, the stage of his activities throughout the thirty-four years of his priestly career. The nature of those activities, the results which they begot, are a patent refutation of the viewpoint, if indeed any be so shortsighted as to hold it in its simple crudity, that economic forces alone achieved the making of the West. The religious objectives that drew on the famous Dominican were as concrete, as fertile of worth-while results as the lure of free land or any other incentive in the economic order. Rather were they more fertile of worth-while results than any merely economic objective could possibly have been. They issued in uncounted visible tokens of spiritual and religious growth, and such tokens are an immeasurably greater gain to a community than any degree of merely material growth, however superb it be. Among the makers of the West, among the valiant spirits that led in the shaping of it to all the noble ends to which these United States of America are dedicated, Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, priest and religious of the great Dominican order, has taken secure place, all the more secure that his successes were primarily of the supernatural order and such as a man of the frontier of his sort might well ambition, for his watchword was ever the scriptural one, "we have not here a lasting city but we seek one that is to come."

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Jesuit Annual Letters in the Bancroft Library

It is a heavenly boon for the historian to have at hand an abundance of sources wherfrom he may learn the past and truthfully write about it. Because certain of the ancient Roman historian Livy's books have been lost, there are certain things we shall never know of the development of the ancient Roman republic. Because some writings of Sallust have perished we shall always lack complete knowledge of the ancient Roman wars, as Sallust described them. Through the ravages of time and destruction of documents, some events have swung forever from out of the ken of humans.

In the modern age letter writing, when it is serious and authentic, and especially when it is the report of an official or of a doer, comprises a very important source of history. How many things we would not know, how many colorful pictures would be omitted from the screen of history, had the Venetian ambassadors throughout the courts of modern Europe been less observing and less communicative. Of greater importance to American historians are the reports of the explorer and the missionary working in the New World after the discovery of the Americas. We would know much less about the conquest of Mexico did Bernal Díaz del Castillo not write his *True History of the Conquest*; and details of the discovery of the Mississippi would have been completely buried in oblivion had not Marquette and Joliet handed to posterity reports of their famous river voyage. Had the *conquistador* and the *coureur de bois* written more often we should know more clearly today how the New World was opened up; we should know more about thrilling experiences and savage encounters. If a missionary accompanied an explorer, which was sometimes the case, the former often left a report. It was fortunate for history that Orellana sailing down the Amazon had with him the Franciscan friar, Gaspar de Cárvajal; it was good too that when Juan Pérez sailed far up the west coast to Alaska he took with him Juan Crespi. So Drake had his Fletcher and Serra his Palou.

Fortunately for mission history in the New World, especially for Jesuit mission history, the Jesuit missionaries not only wrote

a great deal, but their writing was organized and official. An official report to the Roman headquarters had from the beginning been a means among the Jesuits of preserving and promoting a unity of purpose and action which was partly responsible for the measure of their success. Soon more casual letter writing was crystallized into a system; official reports had to be written annually by superiors in each house to the Provincial; each Provincial made a brief of these, synthesized the contents into one letter, and sent it to Rome. These were the famous annual letters, *litterae annuae* in Latin, *cartas anuas* in Spanish, familiarly referred to in the mission history of the Spaniards as the *anuas*.¹

In these paragraphs we wish to speak particularly about those annual letters which are connected with the history of the Jesuit province of New Spain and especially with the missionary history of that province. It is with this particular plot of history, the North American West, that the Bancroft Library of the University of California is chiefly concerned, and since the Jesuits had some place in the development of the west coast history, it is fitting that the Bancroft Library should become a depot of Jesuit source material.² Because this reservoir of history has recently been deepened and broadened through the interest and the vision of Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton, this article seems apropos at the present time.

The Jesuits in New Spain fell into the general trend of letter writing. The superior of each unit (residence, college, or mission) of the province sent in yearly a written report of the activities and developments to the Provincial resident in Mexico City, in colonial days called simply Mexico. When the permanent missions, *entre infieles*, were founded, the superior of the missions sent in his report annually to the Provincial. But as the missions spread and the personnel increased, each particular missionary working in the wilds, or, as often happened, the leader of two working together, sent in to his immediate superior a report of his activities. These letters of particular missionaries were sent in to the superior of the missions at any time during the year, particularly after an *entrada*, or entrance, had been made into some new tribe or district. After the passing

¹ The word is more often spelt *annua* in the reports. The preferred modern usage seems to be *anua*; but we sometime see it with the tilde, *añua*.

² The writer has been aided in the present study by the work of Dr. Marion Reynolds who has arranged and catalogued the *anuas*.

of each year, and usually early in spring, the superior of the missions synthesized these letters and sent the completed report to his Provincial in Mexico City. Often these *anuas* from the missions incorporated whole letters from individual missionaries, one or another of which the Provincial, in turn, might incorporate into his own report of the whole province before forwarding it to Rome. The annual letters from New Spain with those from every other Provincial of the Old World and of the New were ultimately filed away in a central Jesuit archive at Rome. Copies of course were kept in the archives of each province. Now, late in 1937, through the initiative of Dr. Bolton, photostat copies of the available *anuas* of New Spain were sent from these central archives to the Bancroft Library. The photostats have been enlarged at the University of California to facilitate reading and are now available for the research student.

These *anuas* from the central archives are not complete, though certain series running through many years form a continuous story for such and such a period. Beginning with 1573 the reports go down with breaks to 1763. The longest run is from 1591 to 1628, though eleven years are missing even here. There is a gap of three years after 1576, and of six years after 1584. Then there is a large lacuna from 1629 to 1643. With this latter year the series begins again, but runs intermittently up to 1653. Then the letters fall out for over a century, that is, from 1653 to 1757 with the sole exception of the years from 1674 to 1680, which six years are combined into one narrative.

Fortunately, there are other collections of *anuas* besides those of the central archives of Europe and these in very important measure supplement, especially for the missions, the central archives. First there is the Archivo General y Público de la Nación, the official Mexican archives in Mexico City, which among documents relating to various departments, such as *Historia, Provincias Internas, Californias*, include also the section entitled *Misiones*, which consists of twenty-seven volumes. Now volumes twenty-five and twenty-six of the group labeled *Misiones* contain besides other reports, narratives, and letters, also an important collection of those portions of the annual letters which refer to the missions, and often they contain the whole *anua*. When these archives contain selections only of the *anua* they are entitled *Puntos de Cartas Anuas*. These latter represent for the missions the original report sent to the Provincial by the general superior of the missions or letters of individual missionaries direct

to the Provincial. The *puntos* are often therefore more detailed than the general *anua*, except where the former have been incorporated into it.

We can find in *Misiones* 25, at least as far as the missions are concerned, that group of *anuas* following 1628 which are missing from the central archives. From 1622 to 1647 there is here a fine run of *anuas* with only six years missing from this whole period. Then the *Misiones* 26 carries along from 1645 to 1690 filling a large gap of the central archives after 1653. But there are omissions here too. A decade after 1665 is missing and a decade after 1680, besides three other years. Some of these which are only *puntos* contain merely slight reports of some particular college and omit the missions altogether. For instance there is in this volume 26 nothing about the missions for the five *anuas* from the years 1654 to 1662. But there are compensations elsewhere, for the *puntos* of 1653 have a fine report on the missions in twenty-six manuscript folios, or fifty-two pages. These contain precious statistics from many particular missions; while the *puntos de cartas anuas* for 1678 contain in fifty-eight manuscript folios, or 116 pages, a most thorough and detailed report of all the missions of northwest Mexico, made at the order of the Provincial as the result of a visitation by Juan Ortiz Zapata. Such a document is priceless for the historian. It should be remarked about this collection of *anuas* and *puntos de cartas anuas* from volumes 25 and 26 of the collection *Misiones*, contained in the Archivo General in Mexico City, that they are often manuscript copies from originals which are now dispersed in various places. Proof of this is that they do not always bear the signatures of the Provincial.

Now from these sets in the Archivo General in Mexico City two other copies have been made through the initiative of Dr. Bolton and have been acquired by the Bancroft Library. One set is an accurately typed copy of these two volumes made by a member of the staff of the Archivo; the other set is a photostat copy of these same volumes. With this check of the two sets in the Bancroft absolute scientific accuracy can be assured, though there cannot always be such check on the scribe who did the first copying from the originals. But, when the *anuas* of the Archivo General are compared with photostat copies of the *anuas* of the central archives in Europe, one finds substantial agreement, except for the Latin versions, which are usually abridged.

There is still another important series in the Bancroft Li-

brary, which comprises *puntos de cartas anuas*, being selections from the main *anuas* of those parts which concern the missions of the north and northwest. This is a very legible and very beautiful manuscript from a portion of a huge collection of copied documents, made in 1790-1792 for Charles IV, king of Spain, under the direction of the Franciscan Father Francisco Figueroa.³ It is entitled: *Memorias para la Historia de la Provincia de Sinaloa*. It contains a run of the mission *anuas* of Sinaloa from 1593 to 1626 with the omission of only seven years. For the missions east of the Sierra Madre it is far from complete. This set, relative to that of the central archives, covers the same period and acts as a complement and vice versa. For instance between 1607 and 1626 ten of the years which are wanting to the central archives are contained in the *Memorias*. While on the other hand there are six years between the above dates which are missing in the *Memorias* but are present in the central archives. Another manuscript copy of the same documents as are contained in the *Memorias* are in the Bancroft Library under the title: *Documentos para la Historia de Sinaloa*.

Smaller collections of the *anuas* duplicate or complete these four large series. The most important of these may be found in various parts of the well-known printed collection: *Documentos para la Historia de México*. These were taken from the documents in the Archivo General in Mexico. Besides seven *anuas* of the earlier years which are a duplication, this printed collection adds to all the others the *anua* of 1668 to be found in the third volume of the fourth series, and the *anuas* from 1742 to 1751 contained in the fourth volume of this same series. Photostats from originals in the Newberry Library, Chicago, for the years 1615-1617 and two originals for the years 1614 and 1615 complete the collection of these Jesuits documents and reports which find a home in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

Coming now to a comparison and an evaluation of the different sets and copies of the *anuas* of the Province of New Spain, we find that those from the central archives are often in Latin, while those of the Archivo General in Mexico City and of the *Memorias* are always in Spanish. For instance, in the central archives of Europe in the series from 1573 to 1653 which con-

³ For a full description and evaluation of these copies, cf. Herbert E. Bolton: *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, 20 ff.

tains *anuas* for forty-one respective years, thirty are in Latin, seven are in Spanish, five have both Latin and Spanish versions, while two are both in Spanish and Italian. In comparing the Latin versions with the Spanish an interesting fact makes its appearance: the reports to Rome were first written in Spanish and then translated into Latin for the central archives. The result is that the Spanish originals are invariably more complete; the Latin versions are briefer and more general, in matter if not always in style. One can find, however, whole sections where the material of the two versions is an exact repetition. This is so whether we compare the Latin and Spanish texts of the central archives, or whether we compare the Latin of the central archives with the Spanish of the Archivo General or of the *Memorias*.

The *anua* of 1615 makes a good subject for comparison. There is first the original in Spanish, then a photostat copy in Spanish and in Latin respectively from the central archives, then a photostat copy of a Spanish version in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and finally the Spanish copy in the *Memorias*. Of these five sets the original is the most complete, while the Latin copy is the most summary, being quite abbreviated. The Spanish copies of the central archives and of the Newberry Library, differing slightly one with the other, are more brief than the original, while that of the *Memorias* runs word for word with the Newberry Library copy. This can be verified if we consult, for instance, that portion of the *anua* of 1615 which has to do with the Tepehuán missions. In the *anua* of 1610, comparing its Spanish text of the central archives with the copy in the *Memorias*, we find the latter an exact copy. In the *anua* of 1611, comparing the Latin text of the central archives, where it treats of the Sinaloa missions, with the Spanish copy in the *Memorias*, we find that the latter is much more detailed. The *Memorias* gives a letter of Father Pedro Méndez, which is synopsized in the third person in the central archives.⁴ In the *Memorias*, letters of Fathers Martín Pérez, Pedro de Velasco, and Juan de Gallegos are given in whole or in part. These are omitted in the Latin version of the central archives and these men are dismissed with a brief notice. The Latin version likewise omits the number of infants and adults baptized that year in the missions of Sinaloa.⁵

In the central archives of Europe there are three different

⁴ *Memorias*, 437 ff. and Archiv. Cent. S. J., Mex. 14, 604 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*

anuas covering the year 1602, the year of a serious revolt among the Acaxée Indians in the mountain borders of Sinaloa. There are here three Spanish narratives of this revolt. Two of them are substantially the same with minor differences, one apparently taken from the other.⁶ The third is a different and a briefer account.⁷ Comparing the Spanish text of the *anua* of 1622 in the *Memorias* with the Spanish of the Archivo General we find that the former is generally an exact copy of the latter, except for the paragraphing.⁸

Let us examine now, as a whole, one particular *anua*, that of 1617, of which the Bancroft Library contains two copies, one in Latin from the central Jesuit archives, the other in Spanish from the Newberry Library. Understanding that the Spanish text is more detailed, but substantially the same as the Latin, let us see the order of the Latin version.⁹ First come the reports concerning each of the four communities in Mexico beginning with the Professed House, and going on to the *Colegio Máximo*, here called *Collegium Mexicanum* (*Colegio de Mexico* in the Spanish text), and then speaking respectively of the two seminaries of San Gregorio and San Ildefonso. Next comes the report of the college in Puebla, then of the novitiate at Tepotzotlán, then of the college of Oaxaca, and so on, until fourteen colleges and houses have been reported on. Then come towards the end as is always the case, the reports on the missions, of those on the west coast, of the mountains and of those east of the Sierra Madre. The reports on the west coast include the missions among the Suaqui, Mayo, and Yaqui Indians, who inhabited the banks of the Fuerte, Mayo, and Yaqui rivers, flowing into the Gulf of California. The mountain missions reported on are those of Topia and San Andrés. Finally come the missions of the Tepehuán Indians east of the mountains up to the newly mentioned post of Parral. The missions of the flat Laguna country, usually reported on, are here omitted.

The matter contained in the various *anuas* is often of scientific value, even though we exclude the reports on the missions, which have their own historical significance. Regarding the houses and colleges we read that the fathers work zealously for the good of souls and that the faithful frequent the Jesuit churches and receive the sacraments therein in encouraging

⁶ Archiv. Cent. S. J., Mex. 14, 33 ff. and 349 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 292 ff.

⁸ *Memorias*, 671 ff., and *Archiv. Gen. Misiones*, tomo 25, 37 ff.

⁹ Archiv. Cent. S. J., Mex. 15, 65 ff.

numbers. We read of the pomp of certain festive occasions, of a public disputation in philosophy, of a great procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, of the celebration of the canonization of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier; of the crowds coming to hear some eloquent preacher or of his work in various districts when he would be sent out on some temporary tour of special preaching and devotion. Stories of spiritual edification abound, such as miraculous cures, resounding conversions, saintly deaths. If a Jesuit has died in a certain house or mission a lengthy account of his life and virtues is given in the *anua* of that year.

Of far more historical significance, whether we regard the political advance of the frontier or the cultural advance of the Indians in Christianity and civilization, are those portions of the *anuas* which speak of the affairs of permanent missions, *entre infieles*. Important and numerous portions of the whole history of a frontier can be got from these reports beginning with the *anua* of 1591. While the missionaries were most intent upon the report of their advance from river to river along the west coast, up through the mountains and in the plains to the east, still they include from time to time valuable information concerning the language and customs of the Indians. For instance, the *anua* of 1602 contains a long account of magnificent scientific value on the habits of the Acaxée Indians of Sinaloa, the report being almost certainly from the pen of Father Hernando Santarén who had been working among them for years.¹⁰ The *anua* of 1604 does the same for the Laguneros,¹¹ and that of 1610 describes the habits of the fierce and cannibalistic Xiximes.¹² These annals make record of thousands of Indians in Sonora baptized within the period of a couple of weeks, of perils of the padres from river flood or mountain cliff, of wars among the savages themselves, of their revolts against the missionaries and the Spaniards and of the reconquests and repressions by Spanish arms. The *anua* of 1609 narrates the events of Captain Hurdaide's defeat at the hands of the Yaqui Indians,¹³ and that of 1616 tells the exciting and calamitous details of the famous Tepehuán revolt which gave ten missionary martyrs to the Church besides hundreds of other Spaniards.¹⁴

One of the Generals of the Jesuits, Father Goswin Nickel, in

¹⁰ Archiv. Cent. S. J., Mex. 14, 32 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 379.

¹² *Ibid.*, 584.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 522.

¹⁴ Newberry Library copy, 72 ff.

a letter to the Provincial of New Spain dated from Rome, November 29, 1653, orders that a synopsis of the *anuas* be composed of the reports from 1615 to 1650.¹⁵ He wants a selection made of the more important events and directs that they be well composed in Latin, with brevity, and with the inclusion as far as possible of the names of persons and places. The same direction was given to all the provinces. His orders were carried out to such effect that we have 487 folios or 974 pages of synopsized *anuas* for the years given above, with the indication on the margin of the event narrated. This gives an idea of the vastness of the materials. The events of the missions are here emphasized, as another General, Mutius Vitelleschi, had directed in a letter of October 30, 1640, which he wrote the famous missionary, Andrés Pérez de Ribas, while the latter was Provincial.¹⁶ The survey from 1615 to 1650 is indeed a synopsis, but not always very brief. The *anua* of 1615, for instance, while it contains in its Latin version slightly over ten folios, has for the synopsis seven and a half.¹⁷ As for the *anua* of 1616, concerned at length with the martyrs of the Tepehuán revolt, the synopsis gives seventeen folios to this year, the full *anua* in the Latin version has nineteen folios, while the Spanish fills seventy-two.¹⁸

If we now compare the *anuas* of the province of New Spain with those of the province of France, as seen in the *Jesuit Relations*, edited and translated in seventy-one volumes by Reuben Gold Thwaites, we find that there is a difference. This, first of all, is to be expected. New Spain was a province; Canada was only a mission of the provinces of France. The letters from New France, therefore, as printed in the *Jesuit Relations*, are direct to the Provincial; whereas the reports in the *anuas* from New Spain have, especially in the Latin versions, been copied or synopsized by a Provincial or secretary. *Anuas* are reports of a Province, the *Jesuit Relations* are reports only of a mission. The letters from Canada are often longer and more detailed than letters found in the general *anuas* or even often in the *puntos de cartas anuas*, for they often include minute narratives of a

¹⁵ *Colección de cartas inéditas de los Padres Generales*, Ysleta, Texas.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Archiv. Cent. S. J., Mex. 14, 31-42, and Mex. 15, 350-357.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Mex. 15, 360-377 and 44-63; Newberry Library copy, 31-103.

Allowance must of course be made for larger or smaller script and for the natural difference in length for the construction of Latin and Spanish, the latter requiring usually more space. There are instances, as in the *anua* of 1646-1647 of the central archives (Mex. 15, 172 ff.) where the turgid Latinity occupies much space in saying very little.

whole chain of events, such as Father Pierre Briard's account to the Jesuit General Aquaviva, dated May 26, 1614, of his initial landing in Acadia and of the events which thereafter took place.¹⁹ But some of the complete *anuas* are equal to or even exceed in length any single piece of the *Jesuit Relations*. Father Paul Le Jeune's letter to the Provincial in France for 1633 takes most of volumes six and seven of the *Jesuit Relations*.

Differing again from the *anuas*, the *Jesuit Relations* contain other letters of a more personal nature, for instance Charles Lalemont's letter to Cardinal Richelieu in volume four and that of Father Sebastian Rusles to his brother, in volume sixty-seven. There are instances, too, in the *Jesuit Relations*, as was often the case in New Spain, where the superior of the missions writing to the Provincial, incorporates a letter written in from lake or forest to himself. Thus in volume twenty-two reporting for the year 1642 Father Barthelemy Vimont writing to Provincial Jean Filleau, incorporates a portion of the letter of Father de Quen. Of course, the missionaries of New Spain wrote numerous personal letters, as may be seen in Dabertzhofer's interesting volume,²⁰ in Tanner's biography of the martyrs,²¹ and in the letters of the Ysleta collection. But these rarely found their way into the *anuas*.

We conclude, therefore, that a great mass of new source material in history has been added to the already rich possessions of the Bancroft Library at the University of California. The growth of a frontier of North America can now be more intimately and more easily traced and whole chapters in the world history of civilization here lie in wait for the industry of the future historian. Dr. Bolton has been piling up mountains of work for those who are still to appear above the horizon of history.

PETER M. DUNNE, S. J.

¹⁹ *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, 1896, III and IV.

²⁰ Chrysostomo Dabertzhofer, *Drey Neue Relationes*, Augsburg, 1611.

²¹ Mathias Tanner: *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusione militans . . .*, Prague, 1675.

DOCUMENTS

The Diary of James M. Doyle

James M. Doyle was born in Clonegal, County Wexford, Ireland, August 1, 1839, the son of Peter and Ellen McDonnell Doyle. He came to America in 1848 with his parents who took up residence in Chicago. His education had begun in the national schools of Ireland and it was completed in the old Scammon School of Chicago and in the University of St. Mary's of the Lake. After the beginning of the Civil War he enlisted in the 23rd Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, which was known as Mulligan's Brigade. His enlistment was for three years and this he served as a private in Company B, afterwards known as Company A. This Illinois regiment was made up almost entirely of Irishmen from Chicago. In June, 1862, Mulligan led them east for their destination at Annapolis, but an order from Secretary of War Stanton brought them to a halt at Harper's Ferry.¹ They were shifted to New Creek, West Virginia, and detailed to hold the Railroad District.² The activity of the 23rd Illinois Infantry was thenceforth confined to the West Virginia and Virginia fronts. In the Appomattox campaign of March and April, 1865, it was the Second Brigade, Independent Division, of the Twenty-Fourth Army Corps.³

Private Doyle was appointed clerk in the Quartermaster's Department by order of James A. Mulligan on June 9, 1864, shortly after his division returned from a veterans' furlough, at New Creek. In January of the following year he was made second lieutenant of Company A at Deep Bottom, Virginia, and on

¹ *The War of Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. XII, Part III, 408. A short account of Colonel Mulligan and his Twenty-third Regiment may be found in John Moses and Joseph Kirkland, *History of Chicago*, Chicago, 1895, I, 183-184. Another account of Mulligan and his "Irish Brigade" is in J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders*, Chicago, 1912, II, 121-123; this contains his picture. The gallant Colonel died in battle together with almost half his command while opposing an advance of General Early at Kernstown in the Shenandoah valley on July 24, 1864. Mulligan was thirty-four years of age when death found him. Says Currey: "No part of the history of the Civil War has greater interest for the youth of Chicago and Evans-ton than the career of Colonel Mulligan, and there is no hero of that war whose memory we can cherish more fittingly on our annual Memorial Days."²

² *The War of Rebellion*, loc. cit., 425, 428, 619.

³ *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. XLVI, 478, 594. Colonel Mulligan was fatally wounded in battle. When he fell, Doyle and others helped to carry him from the field, but were soon given the famous orders by the dying Colonel: "Lay me down, boys, and save the flag."

March 25, 1865, he became captain when the regiment was at Parkersville. His discharge from the service came at Richmond on July 24, 1865. In September he was made brevet major according to a sheepskin document signed by President Andrew Johnson. The rank was to date from March 13, 1865, and was given "For gallant and meritorious services during the campaign of 1864 in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, and in the battles before Petersburg, Virginia, in 1865." This was recorded in the Adjutant General's Office on September 20, 1866.⁴

After his discharge from the Army, Mr. Doyle returned to Chicago where he spent the rest of his days. He married Rose Donnelly in 1878. Three of the five children born of the union are residents of Chicago, Eleanor M. Doyle, Ph. D., Julia M. Doyle, and Charles I. Doyle, S. J., Ph. D. The other sons, Leo and James are deceased. Mr. Doyle was occupied in the office of the City Collector. For years he was chief deputy clerk of the Criminal Court. He was justice of the peace by quadrennial appointment of the Governors from 1887 until 1908, during which period he at times held the office of police magistrate until the present municipal court system was established. At the time of the fire in Chicago, he and Thomas F. Judge saved the records of St. Mary's Cathedral, a deed heretofore unrecorded.⁵ He was some months over seventy when he died, November 18, 1909.

James M. Doyle kept a diary during his service in the Civil War. The diary was divided and written in pencil in a number of small memorandum books. The books were kept as family treasures with other papers and letters until several years ago when a flooded cellar ruined all but the one section printed below. This section begins with August 1, 1864, covers items of some major engagements, and ends with an entry of December 19. The handwriting in pencil is fading in places. The members of Mr. Doyle's family have consented to its publication and have supplied a handwritten copy and points of information incorporated above. The diary is important to the study of the activity of a group of the Irish people of Chicago during a national crisis.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

⁴ Volume V, 73.

⁵ Joseph F. Thompson, "The First Chicago Church Records," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, III (April, 1921), 404, writes: "Strange as it may seem, Father St. Cyr's parish record is still accessible in spite of the fact that every vestige of the Church property connected with the parish which Father St. Cyr established (St. Mary's) was destroyed in the great Chicago fire of 1871."

THE DIARY

August 1st 1864. Birthday. Started this morning at 5 A. M. Marched three miles and camped near Wolfsville, Md.

August 2nd. Tuesday. Remained this day near Wolfsville, Md. Wrote home this day.

August 3rd. Wednesday. Started this day at 3 A. M. and marched through Frederick City to the Monacacy River, a distance of 20 miles before dinner. Walked the whole distance and camped among the Copperheads, killing three of them.

Aug. 4th. Thursday. Remained in camp all day, nothing of importance occurring.

Aug. 5th. Friday. General inspection of all of 1st Division.

Aug. 6th. Saturday. Started at 4 A. M. for Harper's Ferry—raining very hard; rained three hours. It afterwards became very warm. Very sick this day. Marched over 20 miles.

[Several pages follow listing bootees, blankets, canteens, etc., received and issued to infantrymen.]

August 7. Remained in camp in Pleasant Valley all day.

Aug. 8th. Inspection of all the troops of Gen. Crook's command this day. Left camp at 3 P. M. and marched to a camp on the Shenandoah, three miles south of Harper's Ferry, [Va.]. [List of articles received from Lieut. Lannigan.]

Aug. 9th 1864. Remained in camp on the Banks of the Shenandoah this day.

August 10, 1864. Left camp at 5 A. M. for Berryville, [Va.], 20 mile. Boil on my knee. Had to ride in ambulance this P. M. Very warm.

August 11th Thursday. Left camp at 5 A. M. and took the fields east of Winchester Pike, for about 2 miles when the column broke by the right of regts to the rear and marched in this position for 4 miles through woods and fields. Heavy artillery firing in the direction of Winchester all morning. It was now 12 M. and we moved by the left flank for seven or eight miles outflanking the rebels who were obliged to fall back in consequence, but as all our movements this day was through corn-fields and woods we were all very tired at night. Poor Brandy [mule?] got played out this day and was left behind.

Aug. 12th. Friday. Started at 7 A. M. through woods and ravines and marched to Cedar Creek where we camped for dinner at 1 P. M. At 2:30 P. M. we started for to take a position. On the way the color bearer of the Hdqrs flag of the 2nd Div. was shot in the leg by a rebel sharpshooter who must have been at

least a mile distant. After we got in position Wm. Finucan took about 20 canteens for water with the Mule. After being gone an hour he returned minus Mule, Hat & Canteens, with the report that our lines of skirmishers did not connect, and Co. B with others from the Brigade were sent out to connect. At about 7 P. M. our line drove the rebels a mile and held their position. After dark we were recalled. Company B's loss: 1 Mule, 20 canteens, My Haversack that I paid 2.50 for, and blankets, coats, Coffee Pots, etc., etc.

Saturday, Aug. 13th 1864. Skirmishing this day between 6th and 19th corps and the rebels near Strausburg which is three miles in advance of our 18th Corps position. Recaptured the Mule etc. this day from the 12th Va. Infantry (Union).

Sunday 14th August. Skirmishing to-day with varied success until about 7 P. M. when we drove the rebels and advanced our line over a mile.

Monday 15th August, Feast of the Assumption. Continued skirmishing along our whole front this day. About 3 P. M. the rebels drove our lines and advanced a Battery and threw about a dozen shells into our lines on the extreme right. Our Brigade was ordered out to the left to flank the Battery and capture it but the rebels smelled a rat and quickly withdrew it.

Tuesday 16th August. Our Regiment was sent out on picket this A. M. and remained out until 12 Midnight when we fell back (the balance of the command moving at 8 P. M.) to Winchester where we got again at 8 A. M. on

Wednesday 17 August. We left Winchester at 10 A. M. and marched to Berryville, making over 28 miles that we marched this day and that without rations. All the barns on line of march were burned.

Thursday 18th August. Left camp at Berryville at 6 A. M. and marched 4 miles to meet the train with supplies, then camped and recd 3 days rations which should have been issued on 16th inst. It rained nearly all day.

Friday 19th August. Remained in camp near Berryville this day. Ordered by Capt. Moriarity to be ready to leave for R R to collect Company books and papers belonging to Regt.

Saturday 20th Aug. Received order from Maj. Gen. Crooks to go to Cumberland at 4 P. M. and marching orders at the same time. Marched as far as camp near Charlestown and camped for the night.

Sunday 21st August. Made arrangements this A. M. to start

for Harper's Ferry & New Creek and would have started were it not that the whole command were drawn up in line of battle at 12 M. when skirmishing commenced and continued until dark, the command in the meantime building rail fortifications. At 11 P. M. received orders to fall back to Halltown where our forces occupied a ridge from the Potomac to the Shenandoah.

Monday 22 August. Our Regiment was sent out as skirmishers this morning at 8 A. M. and remained out until 8 P. M. of

Tuesday 23 August when we were relieved by the 54th Penn. Jas. Moore, Co. A attached to B Co., was wounded the 23rd in both thighs. The Reg't lost those two days four men wounded. [List of articles received.] During the 22nd and 23rd the command was engaged in building breastworks. The P. M. of the 22nd a brigade on the left charged the rebels and drove them over half a mile.

Wednesday 24th August. Started at 12 M. for Harper's Ferry and reached there half an hour after the train left for Balt. Got an order for transportation from Jack Stevenson from H. Ferry to Baltimore and then went to see Wat Mc—— and Jas. Moore at the Sandy Hook Hospital. Found both of them doing very well.

[The diary for the following days has brief jottings on Doyle's trip. He left Harper's Ferry on August 25, and arrived in Baltimore in the evening. He went from Baltimore to Harrisburg, then to Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Cumberland, New Creek, Cumberland, New Creek, Wheeling, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, Baltimore, Harper's Ferry. No reason is given for the trip, but supplies and a straggler's regiment are mentioned.]

Saturday 17th Sept. Left Harper's Ferry this day at 8 A. M. for Summit Point and the Regiment.

Sunday 18th Sept. Remained in camp at Summit Point this day. At 5 P. M. received orders to move but went into camp again.

Monday 19th September. Moved at 5 A. M. in the direction of Winchester along the H. T. & W. R. R., striking the Pike bet. Winchester and Berryville at 11 A. M. when we halted for dinner. At 12 M. we moved out on the Pike in direction of Winchester. Heavy firing to the right and front all morning. At 2 P. M. our Brigade was advanced through the woods to the front over the ground where the 19th Corps fought in the morning. Our Co. was thrown out as skirmishers and in ten minutes the front of the line of battle was ch'g'd by a left wheel and the two divisions of Crook's Corps and the two of the 19th Corps led by Genl.

Sheridan in person charged the rebels driving them through and beyond Winchester, capturing 5000 prisoners and several guns. Loss in killed and wounded very heavy on both sides. Our own Regiment lost 4 men killed and eighteen wounded and assisted in the capture of 2 Rebel cannons. M. Carney of B slightly wounded in foot.

Tuesday 20th September. Followed up this day to Cedar Creek. Citizens on road report the rebels demoralized and retreating in haste. At 7 P. M. changed position from right to left of the Pike. Ordered to keep very quiet and no fires to be built.

Wednesday 21st Sept. Remained in the woods all day, our corps being concealed for reasons which will be made known hereafter. At 8 P. M. received orders to move and done so to West side of Pike and advanced about two miles to the right on Pike, where we went into camp for the night.

Thursday 22nd Sept. 1864. The following is Genl. Sheridan's report of this day's operations sent to Genl. Grant at 11:30 P. M. "Sir, I have the honor to report that I achieved a most signal victory over Early at Fisher's Hill today. After a deal of maneuvering during the day Crook's Com'd was sent to the extreme right of the line on North Mt. and he furiously attacked the left of the enemy's line, carrying everything before him. While Crook was driving the enemy in great confusion & sweeping down behind his breastworks, the 6th and 19th corps attacked the works in front and the whole Rebel Army appeared to be broken up, flying in the utmost confusion. We captured 16 pcs arty and a great many Cassions, horses, etc. I can't say how many prisoners, Flags, etc., is captured, but darkness only saved the whole of Early's Army from destruction." John Creed of D Co. captured a rebel flag, also one of 10th & 11th Va. Of our own Brig. Jas. Ryan & M. Kelly wounded. Splendid charge of myself Sergt O'Herrin & twelve of the I. B. on a battery. Every man of the whole command went [word obscure] on his own hook to-day.

Friday 23rd Sept. 1864. This morning the command is scattered yet. At daylight the part of our Brig. with which I was started back toward Strausburg went about one mile and halted, when the balance of the command coming up it was there halted and we gathered together our glorious little I. B., details sent for K. S. H. S. etc. Beef issued and about 10 A. M. we started for Woodstock [Va.] where four days rations were issued and we camped for the night.

The Cavalry 6th and 19th Corps continued on this day and

sent back about 1000 prisoners which had been captured by them and several pieces of artillery. On the pike as we came along today we found the ruins of several rebel wagons which had to be burned by them in their skedaddle, also numbers of small arms, accoutrements, etc.

Saturday 24th September. Started from Woodstock at 6 A. M. and marched to New Market where we arrived at 6 P. M. and went into camp. Today an occasional arty shot is heard to hasten the retreat of the rebels. Passed several good positions that the rebs might have availed themselves of if not utterly demoralized. Everything tends to show that Early's Army is used up, he having lost within the last six days more than one half of his army, while the balance is nothing but an armed mob.

Sunday 25th Sept. 1864. This day we left New Market at 7 A. M. and marched to Harrisonburg where we went into camp at 6 P. M. Several Union prisoners in hospital here were released to-day.

[The next week was spent in camp at Harrisonburg.]

Sunday Oct. 2nd 1864. Wagon trains came up this A. M. bringing me three letters from home. Went through Company inspection. Cannonading heard in a southerly direction.

At 2 P. M. ordered to fall in with muskets and accoutrements and haversacks & canteens. Remained in line over an hour and then went into camp again. This move was occasioned by the firing in front near Dayton, [Va.] where the rebels attacked our forage train but were driven off by our Cavalry capturing 200 Rebels.

Monday Oct. 3rd. Received orders to move at 5 A. M. And [words obscure] in readiness [words obscure] until 1 P. M. when we were ordered to go into camp again.

Tuesday 4th Oct. 1864. Moved camp today and commenced drill. [Words obscure.] Dress parade [words obscure] camp.

Wednesday 5th Oct. 1864. Drill & Dress Parade today in camp. 10 P. M. received order to move at 5 A. M. tomorrow.

Thursday 6th Oct. 1864. Left camp south of Harrisonburg at 6 A. M. and marched to near Mt. Jackson without stopping for dinner. Distance 26 miles. 6th and 19th Corps in advance of ours met a train of 800 wagons at Mt. Jackson and issued three days rations.

Friday 7th Oct. 1864. Started at 7 A. M. and marched to near Woodstock without stopping for dinner. We were part of a guard of over twenty miles of Wagon train. Part of our forces crossed

this morning into the [word obscure] Valley. Distance today 17 miles.

Saturday October 8, 1864. Left camp near Woodstock at 7 A. M. this morning and stopped for dinner at Signal Hill. Then moved down to rebel works on Fisher's Hill and went into camp for the night, which was very windy and cold. This day we had hail, rain & snow. The Rebel Cavalry charged our Rear guard through Woodstock about 3 P. M. Sharp Cav. skirmishing and cannonading until dark.

Sunday October 9th 1864. Early this morning skirmishing commenced between Two Divsns of Rebel Cav. & Mtd Infty and our Cav. About 9 A. M. our cavalry charged the rebels through Woodstock and to New Market driving them Pell Mell before them and capturing eleven of their twelve pieces of artillery, a wagon train & ambulance and several hundred prisoners. At 2 P. M. our Brigade moved out to about 3 miles beyond Signal Hill and at dark returned to Signal Hill. Our Regiment being sent out on picket. Very heavy frost tonight.

Monday Oct. 10th 1864. Remained on picket all this day and until 5 A. M. on

Tuesday Oct. 11th 1864 when Crooks corps moved back to Cedar Creek, the 6th and 19th corps having gone toward Winchester yesterday.

Wednesday Oct. 12th 1864. Remained in camp near Cedar Creek this day & commenced drill & Dress Parade. Wrote home today and also got two letters from home. Capt. Wallace, Lt. Fletcher & M. Gurr returned to Battalion on last night. Weather very cold and disagreeable for this season of the year.

Thursday Oct. 13th. At about 1:30 P. M. a rebel Battery south of Cedar Creek opened and commenced throwing shells into the camp of our Brigade which was formed in line in a few minutes when it moved to the right about one-fourth of a mile. When our Batt[alion] was ordered to report at Hdqrs of Genl. Sheridan from whence we were sent to guard a herd of cattle in the rear.

Thursday Oct. 13th 1864. At 10 P. M. received orders to proceed to Martinsburg with the cattle and herd them until further orders and started immediately, reaching Winchester at 3 A. M. Oct. 14th. Just after leaving the Brigade, it and the 1st of Division became hotly engaged with the enemy, losing several killed & wounded. Heavy firing along the line until dark.

Friday Oct. 14th 1864. Started with herd of cattle from

Winchester at 7 A. M. and came to Daskesville where we halted for dinner and then proceeded to Martinsburg reaching there at 6 P. M. after marching 38 miles in 19½ hours, Mosby on our track all this day but afraid to attack us.

Saturday, Oct. 15th. Co B detailed to guard herd today. nothing reliable from the front of Sheridan's army which is still at Cedar Creek confronting the enemy. Large train escorted by the 2nd Brigade left for the front to-day.

Sunday, Oct. 16th 1864. Remained in camp near Martinsburg today. Wrote home.

Monday Oct. 17th 1864. Cos B, F, & G detailed to guard herd to Wmsport and perhaps to Penn. I remained behind to work on the Company records. Received clothing from Lt. Quirk for det'ch't of Co B left behind.

Tuesday Oct. 18th 1864. Awaked this A. M. at 4 o'clock by reveille and found all of the Batt. present were ordered to escort train to front at 6 A. M. and moved out accordingly. Genl. Sheridan and escort passed us two miles out from Martinsburg on his way to the front. Got to Winchester at 7 P. M. and camped for the night.

Wednesday Oct 19th 1864. Awakened this A. M. before daylight by heavy firing in the direction of Cedar Creek. At 7 A. M. train started out escorted by 2nd Brigade. Shortly after Genl. Sheridan and escort passed to the front and ordered train back to camp. There is evidently a heavy battle in progress. Stragglers are beginning to arrive now at 10 A. M. and report a surprise to our Division before daybreak & capture of our artillery and the arms stacked in rear of breastworks and a great number of prisoners. All the trains in this vicinity ready to move. Later reports show that after Crook's corps were driven, the 6th and 19th Corps extended their lines and after a hard fought battle regained in the P. M. all the ground lost in the A. M., recapturing our artillery & capturing many prisoners, some reports setting the number as high as 7000. Later & fuller reports show that Sheridan captured today over 3000 prisoners and 57 pieces of arty., 297 wagons & a large train of ambulances in this days engagement. Bully for Sheridan Hurrah for Sheridan God bless Sheridan And may it be ever thus with him.

Thursday Oct. 20th 1864. At 1 P. M. started for the front as escort to 1st Div., train arriving there at 8 P. M. Newtown and Middletown as we passed through we found were filled with the wounded of both armies. Capt. A. J. McGonigle, Act. Chf. q. m.

on Sheridan's Staff was severely wounded and Col. Shoburn killed in yesterdays fight.

Friday Oct. 21st. In camp at Cedar Creek.

Saturday Oct. 22nd. In camp at Cedar Creek. Cos B & F rejoined the Battalion.

Sunday 23rd Oct. 1864. Went on picket and remained out 2 days then went into camp near picket lines where we remained until 31st, Capt. Simison receiving his commission as Lt. Col. in the meantime.

October 31st 1864. 3rd Brigade went on reconnaissance as far as Woodstock today. No sign of the enemy except a few guerillas who followed up on our return to camp where we arrived at 7 P. M. We have been expecting the paymaster for some days back.

Nov. 1st to 9th 1864. Remained in camp at Cedar Creek during this time. On the 8th some of the soldiers voted for President of U. S. all passing off quietly.

Nov. 10th 1864. The army moved back to-day to near Kearns town and went into camp.

Nov. 11th, 12th, & 13th 1864. In camp near Kearns town.

Nov. 14th. Received orders from Div. Hdqrs to report to Capt. J. Ames A. Q. M. for duty.

Nov. 15th to 24 1864. On duty in Q. M. Dept. near Kearns town Va. during this time.

Nov. 25th 1864. Thanksgiving, plenty of poultry. Capt. Ames roasted turkeys on spit.

Nov. 26th to Dec. 18th 1864. Still in camp near Kearns town, Va. On the P. M. of Dec 18th Division recd orders to move on the morning of 19th to Wash. and report to Maj. Genl. Halleck, Chf. of Staff.

Dec. 19th 1864. Division left for Wash. City today taking cars at Stevensons Depot. Capt. Ames recd orders to remain behind in charge of transportation of Div. Transportation moved to Depot tonight and ordered to remain there and await orders.

[On the discharge papers appears a list of engagements in which James Doyle participated as a member of the 23rd Illinois Volunteer Infantry from June 1, 1864, when it returned from veteran furlough until the surrender of Lee.]

Dec. 29th '64, joined Army of James in front of Richmond.

Jan. '65 to March 25 in defences of Bermuda 100. In March Lt. Col. Simison returned to Illinois to have Regt. filled, leaving Capt. P. M. Ryan in command.

On March 31st & April 1st at Hatchers Run, April 2nd assault & capture of Fort Gregg in front of Petersburg.

April [6 or 7] High Bridge.

April 9th Surrender of Lee.

Notes and Comment

AN ASTRONOMICAL EXPEDITION TO LOWER CALIFORNIA: THE TRANSIT OF VENUS OF 1769

Before astronomers found better means, the most accurate method for determining the distance from the earth to the sun and the sun's parallax was the observation of the transits of the two inferior planets, Mercury and Venus, over the solar disk. These phenomena, especially the central transits, are few, and were previously eagerly expected by astronomers the world over. The transits of Mercury at the same node are rare. The last one occurred May 10, 1937. The transits of Venus, due to the inclination of its orbit and the apparent radius of the sun, are rarer still; the next one is due to occur June 8, 2004. The earliest transit of Venus was observed by two persons only, Horrocks and Crabtree, in England, November 24, 1769, O. S. Since then four other transits have occurred, in June, 1761 and 1769, and in December, 1874 and 1882; for transits come in pairs at present and have been doing so for several centuries; but, astronomers teach, after a time this will cease to be true and transits will become solitary for a long period. The transits of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were extensively observed by scientific expeditions sent out by the different governments to all parts of the world where they were visible. The transits of 1769 and 1882 were visible in the United States. One of the best locations for observation of that of 1769 was Lower California, then Spanish dominion, whither the government determined to send astronomers. The scientists who were to make the observations were already chosen in 1766. The leader of the expedition was to be Father Roger Joseph Boscovich, a Dalmatian-born Jesuit, internationally known among astronomers. Another Jesuit whose name is not given, was to be his companion. The special permission to proceed to California had been granted by the King of Spain in the summer of 1766, for Boscovich was not a Spanish subject. Everybody knows what took place the following year, 1767. Charles III expelled all Jesuits from his lands.

Scientists were wondering whether His Catholic Majesty would allow a Jesuit to re-enter his dominions. Among astronomers, James Douglas, Earl of Morton, then president of the Royal Society of London, wanted to know well ahead of time what the decision of Charles III was to be. For the year past, he had taken an active part in the preparations to observe the transit of Venus in 1769, and he had resolved that, if it depended on him, the "several circumstances which conspired to make the observations of the transit of Venus of 1761 unsatisfactory" would not occur again. Under his impulse, as early as

June, 1766, the Council of the Royal Society "resolved on using the most active exertions to engage competent observers." A petition for a subsidy of 4,000 pounds was sent to the King, since the budget of the Society was in no condition to defray the expense of the several English expeditions to Spitzbergen, to Fort Churchill, Hudson Bay, and to "any place not exceeding 30 degrees of Southern latitude, and between the 140th and 180th of longitude west" of Greenwich. The petition emphasized the necessity of observing accurately the phenomenon in proper places, for the observations would "contribute greatly to the improvement of Astronomy, on which Navigation so much depends."

National pride was also played upon to determine George III to grant the desired subsidy. The petition states that "the British nation has been justly celebrated in the learned world for their knowledge of Astronomy in which they are inferior to no nation upon earth, ancient or modern; and it would cast dishonor upon them should they neglect to have correct observations made of this important phenomenon." The subsidy was granted (C. R. Weld, *A History of the Royal Society*, London, 1848, II, 32 pp.).

Interested as Morton was, it can easily be understood why he wanted to know what the Spanish Court would decide about Father Boscovich. The Jesuit had acquired European fame by "a number of excellent astronomical and mathematical dissertations. In 1750, assisted by his brother Jesuit, Father [Christopher] Maire, he conducted the measurement of a degree in the ecclesiastical State. And through his influence with the ministers of other courts, it is said that he procured to be made similar measurements, by Liesganing in Austria and Hungary, by Becaria in Piedmont, and even by Mason and Dixon in America" (*The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, London, 1809, XI, 500, note. Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, I, col. 1828-1829). Father Boscovich's scientific achievements had earned for him the coveted honor of being elected a fellow of the London Royal Society. (See the preface, IX, to the English translation of Boscovich's book *Theoria Philosophiae Naturalis*, Chicago, 1922). He was then well-known to Morton. The Englishman, it appears, had no great respect for the Spanish astronomers of that time. If, as was most probable, Boscovich refused to go to a country whence his brethren had been expelled because they were Jesuits, perhaps English astronomers might be allowed by the Spanish Court to proceed to California and observe the transit. Consequently six weeks after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and the Spanish dominions, Morton wrote to Prince Masserano, the Spanish ambassador in London:

The letter with which Your Excellency honored me last summer notified me that, by the gracious permission of His Catholic Majesty, Father

Boscovich and a companion, Jesuit also, had been allowed to go to California to observe the transit of Venus which will take place June 3, 1769. This phenomenon will not occur again for more than one hundred years. Your Excellency added that these two observers would go to California on a Spanish ship and that it was the intention of His Catholic Majesty to have the two Jesuits accompanied by a few of his subjects as members of the expedition to help in the observations to be made.

But after the decision taken by your Court with regard to the Jesuits, I consider the voyage of Father Boscovich impracticable; for, even if His Catholic Majesty were kind enough to grant leave to this particular Father, I doubt whether the General of his Order would consent to let him go, and even supposing that he would, I have reasons to believe that, in the present circumstances, Father Boscovich himself would not agree to undertake the journey.

In view of this, I beg Your Excellency kindly to ask your sovereign whether he would deign to allow two of our astronomers, delegated by the Royal Society, and each one accompanied by an English or foreign servant, to go to California to make this important, and, in a way, unique observation.

Since the intention of His Catholic Majesty was that the astronomers should travel under the Spanish flag and since some Spaniards were to accompany the scientists, Morton asked the ambassador to be informed on several important points. First, will the King of Spain pay for the foreigners' passage from Cádiz to where the observations are to be made? Second, is there in Lower California some town or village where workmen sufficiently skilled to build an "observatory" can be found? Or might not a town or village with the same facilities be found ten, twelve, or fifteen degrees farther north? (Roughly, in modern terms: in Gilah Country, in the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona, and in Grand County, Utah, respectively.) Are there soldiers in these places to protect the astronomers from molestation by the natives? Will the astronomers to be sent by His Catholic Majesty have their own instruments? It would be of the greatest usefulness, Morton explained, if they had a set of instruments of their own, so as to enable different persons at the same place to observe the transit, and since the most accurate astronomical instruments are made in London, should His Catholic Majesty give the necessary orders they could be constructed for 137 guineas. Finally, it is essential to know if, in June, the weather is fair or rainy toward the tip of Lower California, and also the prevalent weather at that time of the year, ten or twelve degrees farther north. The president of the Royal Society ends his letter saying: "The coming phenomenon will furnish the best means to determine with accuracy the parallax of the sun, and thus it is extremely important, both for astronomy and for navigation, that it be exactly observed. I have the honor to be with the deepest respect, Prince, of Your Excellency, the most humble and most obedient servant. (Signed) Morton, Brook Str. May 17, 1767." (Archivo General de

Indias, Seville, *Audiencia de Guadalajara, Expedientes Diarios, Annos 1766 A 1733, 104-1-7, n. 6*; transcript in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.)

The Spanish ambassador in London forwarded Morton's letter to Madrid. It was handed to the Council July 9, and, as it was written in French, they sent it to the translators. Four days later a provisional answer was sent to Masserano, telling him to wait for the King's decision, and notifying him that instruments had already been bought for the Spaniards to be appointed for the expedition. When the translated letter was returned to the Council, the Fiscal of Castille was far from pleased with Masserano and Morton. It was perfectly clear, he argued, what the English are after. They have been anxiously casting about for some pretext to gratify their long standing desire to gain admittance in His Majesty's dominions in America.

They want to draw plans of the bays and ports, to inspect presidios and fortresses, with the view of making use of the knowledge thus acquired as soon as there is a war between their country and Spain. In brief, under the plea of a scientific expedition, they want to send spies to Mexico. And in time of peace, all they have in mind is to promote illicit commerce between their country and the colonies to the detriment of the state, of the royal treasury, and of the colonists themselves.

What is amazing enough, continues the Fiscal, is that the Prince of Masserano did not immediately reject a proposal against which there are so many laws, cédulas, and ordinances, which have been issued ever since the discovery of America. These regulations absolutely forbid foreigners to go to the colonies, because all that can be expected from them is disturbance of the peace, peril for religion, and corruption of the morals of the people. Masserano must have lost sight of those laws; and the Fiscal magnanimously excuses this slip of the ambassador. But a greater cause of amazement is that the letter of Morton should have been as much as forwarded to Madrid, since it contains the following passage: "The General of the Society [of Jesus] would not grant permission to Father Boscovich to go to California, even if His Majesty were not to object to the astronomer using the leave he formerly granted." Did not Masserano realize how improper such statements were in the present circumstances? "At the same time, that letter is gravely injurious to the Spanish nation, for it supposes that there are no astronomers in Spain, whereas there is no lack of good mathematicians who can make the observations as well as the English."

There are workmen, carpenters and smiths, and good ones too, in the south of Lower California, as well as in the north. The Fiscal's proof consists in the list of the Jesuit missions, singling out Loreto and San Ignacio, and those founded in 1719 and the following years by Fathers Guillén and Ugarte. The government does not intend to

deprive the colonists of an occasion of making some money. All that is necessary for the expedition which can be made in California will be made there, and the astronomical instruments will be constructed in Spain. Hence no permission will be given to the English astronomers. Masserano might just as well tell Morton that such a leave will never be granted. Moreover, the viceroy of Mexico must be warned and reminded of the ordinances forbidding the admission of foreigners in the dominions of His Majesty; there is always danger that some may even try to smuggle themselves in; a closer watch than ever must be exercised over the ports and bays of New Spain. My Lord Morton must also be told that good astronomers and mathematicians are not lacking in Spain. If it is useful for the commonwealth, and if thereby some honor may accrue to the nation, His Majesty will give the necessary orders that two or three Spaniards be sent to California to observe the transit of the planet. These scientists will be supplied with the instruments and all that is necessary for the expedition (Archivo General de Indias, *ut supra*).

It does not seem that Morton had so grievously offended the Spanish nation by proposing that English astronomers be sent to California instead of Father Boscovich, for, when the time came, the head of the expedition was not a Spaniard but a Frenchman, who was accompanied by three of his compatriots, Pauly, an engineer and a geographer, Noel, the draughtsman, and Dubois, a watchmaker to repair the instruments. Two Spanish naval officers "and astronomers to His Catholic Majesty" (*A Voyage to California*, 8), Don Salvador de Medina and Don Vizente Doz (AGI, Seville, *Aud. Guadalajara*, 1768-1772, 104-3-3, Croix to Arriaga), with a few servants were designated by Charles III to make up the rest of the expedition.

The French astronomer was Abbé Jean Chappe d'Auteroche, whose relation of his voyage to California was posthumously published in Paris in 1772 by Cassini. An English translation and adaptation was issued in London in 1778. How Chappe happened to be chosen in the place of Father Boscovich has not been fully ascertained. The abbé was a prominent astronomer and a trained observer. At the time of the previous transit of Venus, in 1761, the Academy of Sciences of Paris, of which he was a member, had selected him to go to Tobolsk, Siberia, to observe the phenomenon. It must also be remembered that the Court of Spain and that of France were at this time on excellent terms. Their common opposition to the Jesuits had tightened the bonds that united the two governments. It was a good will gesture on the part of Charles III to have a French abbé take the place of a Dalmatian Jesuit. In the light of what the Fiscal of Castille said, it was also a mark of trust on the part of the Spaniards; they felt that the Frenchman would not be a spy let loose in His Majesty's dominions. To forestall all controversy on his return he was told to attend to the object of his mission, to make his astronomical observations,

and to meddle with nothing else (cf. *Correspondance du Marquis de Croix*, Nantes, 1891, 259). The Spanish government was aware of the stir created by the book Chappe published after his return from Siberia, and it told him to refrain from saying about Mexico what he had said about Russia.

Chappe left Paris with his three helpers September 18, 1768, and arrived in Cádiz, October 17. There he got in touch with Spanish suspicion and red tape. He was told on landing that the permission to go to California did not include Pauly, the helper on whom he relied most. It needed the direct intervention of the French ambassador in Madrid to overcome this difficulty. The French astronomer was beginning to fear that the proverbial dilatoriness of the Spaniards would prevent his arrival in Lower California in time for the transit.

They finally set sail, and after a crossing lasting seventy-seven days, the party landed at Vera Cruz, March 6, 1769. It was still three months before the transit would occur, but they were still far from the mission village of San José del Cabo in Lower California. A week after landing in Vera Cruz, they departed for Mexico City, where they arrived on Easter Sunday, March 26. "We were conducted to the house of the Jesuits, where a lodging was prepared for us. We had no sooner alighted there, but four gentlemen came to conduct us to the palace. I am at a loss for words to express the friendship and politeness shown us by the Marquis de Croix, Viceroy of Mexico, and by his whole court. He left nothing undone to procure us whatever we wished for, and to make our stay at Mexico agreeable to us. We had no table but his own for the four days we continued in the town . . ." (*A Voyage to California*, 39-40). On March 30, they left Mexico City for San Blas. After four days in this port, they sailed, April 19, and reached San José del Cabo, their destination, one month later.

A dismal sight greeted the expedition when it landed. An epidemic was raging that had already wiped out of existence one-third of the inhabitants of the little village. San Lucas, farther south, was said to be safe, but Chappe was apprehensive lest by moving at this late date he miss the transit or make an imperfect observation. To the suggestion of the two Spanish naval officers, he declared that he would not stir from San José. Preparations were feverishly pushed, and by May 31, Chappe was ready. (Velaz to Croix, July 28, 1769. This and the other letters of Velaz to Croix, and Croix to Velaz, quoted below, are found in a sheaf of documents entitled *Copia Literal del documento que obra en el Deposito Hidrographicco de Madrid, Libro C. 3°.—Tomo I—Californias y Costas NO de America, "Correspondencia entre el Ex^{mo} S^r Marques de Croix y D^r Joaquin Velasquez de Leon hallandose este en el R^o de S^a Ana de California con motivo de la muerte de M^r Chappe y de lo ocurrido a los sujetos que pasaron a hacer la observacion del paso de Venus por el disco Solar en las California en el año 769 &."*, transcript in the Bancroft Library. Cf. also *A Voyage to*

California, 63-65; *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, XIII, 92.) That day Chappe wrote a letter of thanks to Galvez (Chappe to Galvez, May 31, 1769, Galvez Papers, n. 590, in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, cf. Galvez to Croix, July 13, 1769, *ibid.*, n. 505, and Croix to Galvez, September 12, 1769, *ibid.*, n. 429), for help he received from a commissary given by the visitador to take care of members of the expedition as much as circumstances permitted (Velaz to Croix, July 28, 1769, *Copia Literal*, etc.).

Ideal weather prevailed on June 3, and Chappe was overjoyed by his observation of the transit. But his happiness was soon dampened by the sequel. Two days after the transit, the two Spanish scientists, and all of their retinue, eleven attendants, workmen or servants, caught the disease on the same day (Velaz to Croix, July 28, 1769, in *Copia Literal*, etc., *A Voyage to California*, 65). Two of Chappe's three companions were near death, and the third very ill. The astronomer was the only one of the expedition immune from the plague. There was a medicine chest and some medical books in his baggage, and the abbé turned doctor and nurse. He examined the symptoms of the disease, consulted his books, and "endeavored to find the proper remedies." Then he himself caught the disease. He again consulted his books, but finding that what was said by one was contradicted by the other, he discarded the books and determined on trying purgatives. Two doses of physic made him well enough to observe the eclipse of the moon of June 19 (Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse*, Vienna, 1887, 371), but while at the eye-piece of his telescope, he was taken with a fainting spell. The time-honored remedy, bleeding, was resorted to, but to no avail. In the village of San José, three-fourths of the population had died, and the rest had fled in terror. Chappe lingered on for six weeks and died August 1 of *ptisi pulmonaria*, wrote Velaz to Croix, caused by an intermittent fever and the great fatigue resulting from his devotedness in the fulfillment of his duties. Before his death, he asked that he be buried clad in the Franciscan habit. The last rites were performed by Doz and Medina, for the missionary of San José had long ago succumbed to the disease (Velaz to Croix, July 28 and September 28, 1769, in *Copia Literal*, etc., *A Voyage to California*, 70).

It was a bedraggled group that left San José for Real de Santa Ana, where they arrived at the end of September. Some were still ill, others were convalescing, and all were anxious to leave as soon as possible. The epidemic had abated at San José and at San Lucas, but it was still raging at San Ignacio and at Todos Santos. No one caught the disease at Real de Santa Ana "except those who have had to pass through the infected villages, but they did not die of it, nor did they spread it to others. Although there are many sick persons among the rest of the population, they only have a benign fever which is called *Sarampion*, and which is easily cured" (Velaz to Croix, September 28, 1769, in *Copia Literal*, etc.).

The casualties were as follows: Doz and Medina recovered from the disease, but the latter died in San Blas on his way back to Mexico. Eight of the eleven Spanish attendants had died. Dubois, Chappe's watchmaker, died in Santa Ana. Of the seventeen members of the expedition, only six survived, the three Spanish servants, Noel, the French draughtsman, Pauly, the geographer, and Doz. The latter reached Madrid in the latter part of 1770. He presented to the King an account of his observations, which was forwarded to Masserano. The ambassador in turn communicated it to the Royal Society in London (*The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, XIII, 91). Pauly went to Paris, and deposited at the Royal Observatory the journals and manuscripts of the late Abbé Chappe (*Ibid.*, 92). Chappe had made Pauly his executor. The geographer had sold to Velaz, the commandant in Santa Ana, all the books and instruments taken on the expedition considering them the personal property of the astronomer. These, however, as we learn from a letter of Croix to Velaz, belonged to the Paris Academy of Sciences, and this body had written to the Viceroy demanding they be returned. Croix ordered Velaz to pack up the books and instruments, to send them to Guadalajara, whence they were to be shipped to Europe (Croix to Velaz, December 12, 1770, in *Copia Literal*, etc.).

JEAN DELANGLEZ

EARLY MAPS OF THE VALLEY

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for July, 1938, published a thesis submitted to the University of Chicago for the M. A. degree, entitled "The Relation of Historic Indian Tribes to Archeological Manifestations in Iowa," by Miss Mildred Mott. As indicated by the title, the purpose of this essay is to link pre-history with history. A remarkable use is made of manuscript and printed maps to establish the connection intended by the author. Miss Mott was aware of the small degree of reliability of the extensive cartographical evidence she consulted. She writes: "Seldom had the cartographer himself been in North America, and unfortunately a map does not give its sources beyond a general statement that may appear in the legend." This assertion is not quite accurate, and a few words might perhaps be said about it by way of comment. Miss Mott who is primarily interested in archeology does not seem to have consulted the manuscript evidence that explains many of the maps she used so skillfully and with such gratifying results. The map itself may not give the sources, but often the papers, rough sketches, and notes of the cartographer do. This is especially true of Delisle. He was indefatigable in copying journals, relations, and letters, culling from each data of interest to a geographer. These copies are now among his papers, and the sources of his maps can be ascertained. The sources of the maps of Joliet, Mar-

quette, Lemaire, and Franquelin, can also be ascertained, although less fully than in the case of Delisle. The first two went over the greatest part of the region described in their maps and relations. Lemaire remained on the Gulf Coast, but received information from travelers who had been up the Mississippi. Franquelin surveyed the Lower St. Lawrence and the New England Coast, but, for his maps of the Mississippi Valley until 1675, he got his data from Jolliet and La Salle. It would be unreasonable to expect the writer to have protracted her work by going back to the sources used for drafting those maps, for her essay is primarily concerned with archeology. The above comments are made only to indicate what should be done for the cartography and the progress of geographical knowledge of the Valley.

Miss Mott calls attention to another difficulty which she encountered. The student wishing to use the numerous manuscript maps of the Mississippi Valley, now much more easily consulted thanks to the photostats of the Karpinski collection, is forced to evaluate for himself the maps he is using, since "there is practically no critical analysis of seventeenth and eighteenth century cartography that depicts the Mississippi River region." Winsor in *Cartier to Frontenac* showed the way more than forty years ago; and Karpinski laid the foundation for a critical study of the cartography of the Great Lakes Region; but it is evident that much remains to be done especially when one wishes to descend to details for a definite area. The enormous amount of thankless labor which a detailed critical study of the cartography of the Mississippi Valley during the seventeenth and eighteenth century would entail, is perhaps the main reason which has deterred historians and geographers from undertaking the task. A beginning has been made for the Missouri Valley by Father R. H. Hamilton, but only the conclusions of this study were published (*American Historical Review*, XXXIX, 1934, 645-662). The article of Miss Reed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II, 1915-1916, 213-224, is restricted to printed maps. The added critical comments are taken mostly from Winsor.

A valuable feature of Miss Mott's thesis is the chronological list of manuscript and printed maps given in the appendix. Thirteen seventeenth-century, seventy-three eighteenth-century, and twelve nineteenth-century maps are thus given with title, date, author, and the call number of the map when it happens to be a photostat of a manuscript map in the Paris archives. A few words are also added with regard to the progress made in the geographical knowledge of Iowa from one map to another, as well as the relation of subsequent maps to preceding ones.

J. D.

Book Reviews

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. Edited by Paul J. Foik, C. S. C. Volume III, *The Mission Era: The Missions at Work, 1731-1761.* By Carlos E. Castañeda. Austin, Texas, Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, 1938. Pp. 474. \$5.

The half-way mark in the progress of a great project is approached with the completion of the present publication. This, the third of the seven-volume work, carries the story of the development of the area of Texas, as it was known in colonial times, down to the year 1761, thirty years beyond the stopping point of its predecessor. Dr. Castañeda maintains the even and interesting style of his previous books, and the publishers continue to set up his narrative in pleasing form. The three books on the shelf now loom as a satisfying achievement. It is quite a pity that the sponsors of this notable enterprise have not quite met with the whole-hearted response they deserve, in particular with a ready and large sale, and that they should have to worry at all about the ultimate returns. Persons who purchase this set on Texas history have no reason to suppose themselves in some fashion, donors to a cause; they are not; the volumes are worth the price; they were written to be read and they are readably written.

It was a good move on the part of the author to survey the missionary field and the workers in the opening pages and especially to incorporate a description of the great Franciscan missionary colleges of the Holy Cross of Querétaro, Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas, and San Fernando of Mexico. From these moved the friars regularly to the evangelization of the frontiers of Old Mexico. The handicaps under which the religious labored are portrayed in a separate chapter in detail, but they run through the entire book with changing names and places. They were in the main the ever hostile Apaches and unenlightened government officials. The former, like the Iroquois of the northern lands, were perpetually attempting by raids to destroy colony and mission, and with considerable success. Officialdom, working in a high-handed manner toward the control of all things, did much to disrupt the nascent foundation and to stop the movement toward occupation of Texas. Governor Carlos Franquis de Lugo is an example of overbearing officialdom, who, single-handed, practically ruined the mission establishment before his misdeeds overtook him. Other drawbacks were smallpox, lack of food, inadequate funds and military protection, poor shelter, and distance from a source of supplies. Patient labor was required to stay at the task of building, moving sites, and rebuilding, but out of the many hardships and martyrdoms a pattern of civilization gradually shaped itself.

The history of the thirty years of growth in Texas as Dr. Castañeda brings it together is remarkably full of color and detail. Apaches, Comanches, Spanish soldiers, governors, friars, colonists, French traders, and soldiers, make for great human interest. Pioneers were at work and in constant conflict. The borderland conflicts between Indian and newcomer, and between Frenchman and Spaniard developed from complex desires for empire, for self, for souls. The life and death struggle was basic to the settlement and development of Texas.

The author looks upon the missionaries as of first importance and the Spanish officials as second. Again, in the affairs of the border conflict between French and Spanish, his viewpoint is taken from the documentary evidence of the Spanish officials and friars. His bibliography of source materials from the Spanish archives is indeed excellent and ample. The absence of the French evidence inclines to make the presentation in its international aspects somewhat one-sided. This does not make much difference to the general story, but it gives the wrong color to the particularly romantic incident of the elopement of Victoria, the little Spanish girl, with d'Herbanne, the French soldier of Natchitoches (p. 82-83). The thirteen-year-old daughter of González, commandant at Los Adaes, made a well-planned escape with the forty-year-old d'Herbanne by canoe on Sunday, April 8, 1736. According to the Spanish accounts followed, the Jesuit father at Natchitoches officiated at the marriage that same evening, and thus acted contrary to all regulations in performing the first recorded marriage in the state. The French documents reveal that the marriage did not take place until July 17, that the banns were published and the consent of both persons freely given. The affair caused quite a stir, but was hardly the first marriage in Louisiana or Texas.

The bibliography, mentioned above, runs to twenty-eight pages, and the excellent index is of thirty-three pages. Six illustrations and a large map complete the work.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1936-1937. By Pierre-Georges Roy. Quebec, 1937. Pp. iv+474.

In a review of the preceding 1935-1936 report of the Archivist of the Province of Quebec, published in these pages in July, 1937, the present writer expressed the hope that the next report would complete the publication of the correspondence of the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu. His desires have been gratified to an extent in the *Rapport* for 1936-1937. Owing to the abundance of matter, Mr. Roy has been able to print only a part of the remainder of this correspondence, namely, the letters written by the abbé from June, 1753, to December, 1756, and a memorandum of 1758. In the foreword the editor remarks of the pre-

viously published letters, that "these documents were a revelation for most of our readers." And so they were. It is unnecessary to repeat what was formerly said with regard to the importance of these letters for the ecclesiastical and missionary history of New France in general and for the Mississippi Valley in particular. The three and a half years covered in this last report were trying years for the vicar-general in France for the bishop of Quebec. The jurisdictional difficulties in Louisiana were becoming acute, and the appeal made by the Capuchins to the Parlement of Paris did not conduce to improve the situation or to ease the tension.

The publication would prove still more serviceable, possibly, if the provenance of the documents had been given, that is, if the letters are found in the Archives of the Colonies, Paris, or in those of the Arch-bishopric, Quebec. The letters in the latter archival dépôt often have a marginal index which was not printed, and important omissions were noted in the index at the end of the report. Such, however, are mere technical details, which would if included render the volume more easy to work with. Grateful students will forget the omission in view of the abundant documentation made so available.

A more notable omission is that of the five letters of the abbé for the year 1755, all of which are found in Volume 100 of the *Correspondance Générale*, Canada, Archives of the Colonies, Paris. These letters, it is true, have been printed by Casgrain in *Extraits des Archives des Ministères de la Marine et de la Guerre*, Quebec, 1890, (p. 180 ff.), but a note might have been inserted to warn the student of the lacuna. Also omitted is the abbé's *Mémoire historique* of 1756, found in Archives of the Colonies, F 5A, 3:237-244. That it was composed in 1756 is borne out by the title of the document, by what is said (f. 243 v): "The Abbé de l'Isle Dieu is passing over in silence the complaints made recently against Father Hilaire, who was in France last year," that is, in 1755, and finally by the letter of the abbé to the Minister, Moras, September 15, 1757, in Archives of the Colonies, F 5A, 3:245-245 v, wherein the vicar-general, in order to acquaint Moras with the situation in Louisiana, says he is sending "an historical memoir which was presented on this matter to M. de Machault, when he was Minister." The matter referred to was the jurisdiction controversy.

The letters of the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu make up only the last quarter of the *Rapport*. Attention has been centered around them in this review principally because of their interest to historians of the Mississippi Valley. The first section of the *Rapport* contains the nominal censuses of the governments of Montreal and Three Rivers in 1762, and the second section, the longest, is the first installment of the inventory of the correspondence of Mgr. Joseph Signay, 1778-1850, the fourteenth bishop and first archbishop of Quebec. The accuracy and

fullness of this inventory, which is more than a mere calendar, is sufficiently vouched for when it is stated that M. I. Caron made it.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Loyola University

Dom Pedro the Magnanimous. By Mary Wilhelmine Williams. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. xii + 414.

Great writing demands a great subject. Such a subject is Dom Pedro II of Brazil, and Doctor Williams has used her opportunity to produce an excellent book.

The broad story of modern Hispanic America is the formation of democratic governments among peoples with no colonial training for that experience. The contrast with our United States is strong. Our forefathers were thrown on their own resources from the day when they decided to abandon their native lands; they met the problems of nature and native danger as well as those of development, with schemes and forces that they themselves originated; their training for democracy was so solid that there was really no revolution in the secession movement from England. In the countries south of us, however, idealists attempted to begin democratic régimes with material that knew only absolutism; and the decades of the nineteenth century count off failures on every side,—but one. Brazil is the lone exception in South America. Her unique narrative bridges the gap from autocratic Portugal to the present republic with peaceful evolution of political life.

It is no exaggeration to credit Emperor Pedro II with a major share of this success. The Empire itself furnished a mold wherein party life and self-government could unfold, while at the same time the state would be secure and a great deal of progressive action would prepare society for the events of 1889. The man who was Emperor gave the spirit to that action. He dominated without tyranny, instructed without patronizing, guided without subduing lesser souls, and deserved altogether the title later given him of "The Magnanimous." His life was as full as his rule was long, and fortunately the muse of history has preserved documentary evidence sufficient in mass to match his importance.

Miss Williams gives a brief view of this material in her bibliographical essay; her chapters and citations show better how vast it is, and how much further study this character will stand. Her work is the first worth while study of Pedro II in English, and she will long remain the standard guide in the subject.

It is a task to compose a biography of such a man as Pedro II. Literary people would seek the psychological approach and produce a much less worthy study; for there is little of the bizarre or abnormal in this character. The historical approach seems much more ap-

properite, and here the Emperor is set into the great stream of the Brazilian narrative from 1841 to 1889. His life is told as it fitted into that story. He is studied from points of view that mark the great movements in that story, movements in which he himself took personal leadership: the early resistance to caudillo and military control, the strife with England, the Plata and Paraguayan warfare, the slave question, the Masonic troubles, the economic, educational, and welfare programs that so modified the life of the average Brazilian.

Miss Williams writes with distinguished superiority to prejudice and partisanship. This quality in her connotes both her personal knowledge of Hispanic American life—which is full and deep knowledge—and her unusually broad understanding of mankind. And her achievement in this matter is especially striking in view of the intellectually dangerous subjects treated. Instance the troubles over Masonry that so rent the body politic; here she is above the stage of assumptions and shibboleths, and she has made a valiant effort both to learn the facts and to understand the motives of the actors in that drama. Her treatment will scarcely be modified, even though it opens the door to much amplification by subsequent writers. In this point, and in her general manner of dealing with her subject, she could well serve as a model for the instructor in historiography. Finally she has brought Pedro II back again to the position he once held in American opinion, when on the occasion of his 1876 tour of the United States he was acclaimed by the *Philadelphia North American* in these words: "No ruler anywhere has, as a ruler or as a man, ever deserved so well from the United States as Pedro II."

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Loyola University

The Journal of Jean Cavelier. Translated and annotated by Jean De langlez, S. J., Ph. D. Chicago, Institute of Jesuit History, 1938. Pp. 179. \$2.25.

The Institute of Jesuit History, founded in 1936 at Loyola University, Chicago, is giving the historical world some extremely important and careful studies of the French explorers of the seventeenth century, and of the courage and energy by which the foundations of civilization were laid in the Mississippi Valley. The French of that period seem to have been aware of the importance of their efforts and to have embodied the accounts of their expeditions in many forms not only for their contemporaries but for posterity. Their contemporaries, moreover, were keenly interested in every expedition, unlike the English, who by "judicious neglect" permitted their colonies to grow strong and vigorous without constant supervision.

There resulted, therefore, many separate versions and narratives of the explorations in the interior of North America, some of which

have remained in the French archives to the present day, notwithstanding the efforts of Francis Parkman and Pierre Margry in the nineteenth century to commit these accounts to print. The especial hero of both Parkman and Margry was Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle. They admired the boldness of his ventures, the hardihood he showed in overcoming difficulties, his apparent success with the aborigines, and the vastness of his plans for the occupation of central North America. They minimized his defects—his overweening vanity which became almost a megalomania, his harshness and arbitrary treatment of his subordinates, who frequently deserted him and finally assassinated him. They forgot that La Salle was a visionary, whose ultimate successes were won by his faithful lieutenant, Henry de Tonty, and his successor, Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville.

It has fallen to modern historians to consider La Salle's contributions with a more dispassionate and critical view, and to submit the numerous narratives of his expeditions to careful comparison as to their fidelity and accuracy. Especially La Salle's last tragic expedition needs clarifying and the causes of its failure disclosed.

On the fifteenth of September, 1687, there arrived at Fort St. Louis on the Illinois river (now Starved Rock) a group of weary travelers from the Southwest. These were Jean Cavelier, La Salle's older brother, his young nephew, a Recollect priest, and two followers, one of whom was Henri Joutel of Rouen. This party spent the winter at the fort, then under the command of Tonty, and left in the spring without revealing to anyone at the post the momentous news that La Salle had been assassinated in the depth of the Texas forest. The reason for this secrecy is supposed to have been Cavelier's desire to obtain possession of his brother's property, which would not be his if the fact of his death were known. For this expedition there were supposed to be three annalists—Cavelier, Father Anastase Douay, and Henri Joutel. The first of these as published by Shea stopped before the date of La Salle's assassination. Recently another version of Cavelier's narrative was found in the Spanish Archives, sent to Spain by a no less renowned person than Baron Lahontan. This is the journal printed, for the first time, in this volume. The erudite editor has made comparisons of Cavelier's narrative with the other two. He has come to the conclusion that Douay's account was also the work of Cavelier, that neither is as accurate as that of the honest Joutel; and that it was the defects of Cavelier's character that incited the false representations. His greed made him deceive Tonty, and moreover, by his delay he jeopardized the colonists left behind in Texas, for whom relief might have been sent, if the priest had told the truth. The author also thinks that Cavelier was probably the author of the pseudo-Tonty or the "Dernières Découvertes," which Tonty indignantly repudiated because of its errors and downright falsehoods. Whatever the purpose of Cavelier in these untruths, there seems to be no doubt

that it had its source in propaganda and in his aim to secure more than was due his brother's fame.

Dr. Delanglez has in this volume given a very accurate translation of the Cavelier narrative, whereof the French appears on one page and the English on the opposite. Even more valuable are his critical introduction and his notes whereby he has revealed Jean Cavelier's turpitude and exonerated Father Anastase Douay from his supposed misrepresentations. He proves that Joutel's is the only trustworthy narrative of the events of La Salle's ill-fated undertaking to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. He also shows that Joutel's account of the assassination of La Salle is more accurate, while more brutal than that of Cavelier who gives the victim time to make confession to the priest, whereas "he did not have time to say even one word" is the true statement. Lastly, the editor traces the last years of Cavelier's life when "failing to interest the French Court in a new expedition he retired to the house of a relative in Rouen, where he died rich at the age of eighty-six years, November 24, 1722."

The volume is attractively printed and bound, has a good bibliography and index. It is a credit to both the editor and the Institute which he represents.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

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